

THE AGE OF ŚANKARA

BY

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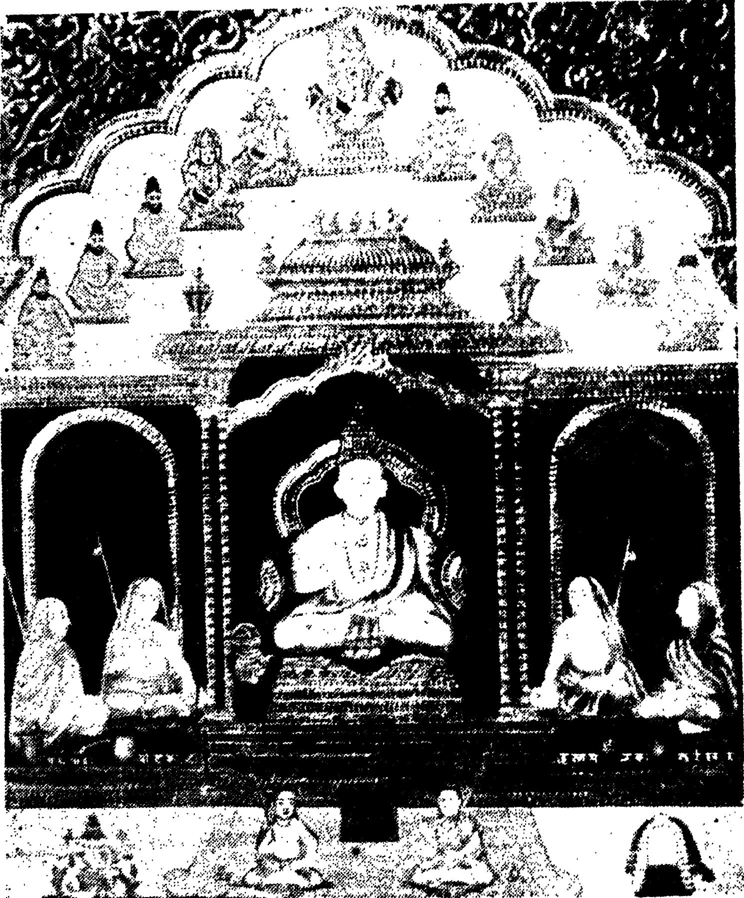
THE AUTHOR

Tandalam Sankara Narayana Sastri

(Born 23, Sept. 1869—Died 22, Feb. 1918)

॥ ॐ ॥

श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः



सदाशिवसमारम्भां शङ्कराचार्यमध्यमाम् ।
अस्मदाचार्यपर्यन्तां वन्दे गुरुपरम्पराम् ॥

(To the Line of Gurus originating from Sadasiva, Sankara in the middle, up to the present Pīthacharya I bow.)

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Ex Orientale lux; *Ex occidente frux*—from the East light; from the West fruit—is a suggestive old saying. Spiritual light has always come from the east and the fruit of materialistic science has been the gift from the west. India has produced a host of intellectuals among whom Sankara takes the place of eminence. His life has been a miracle of thirty-two years which to relate is not history but a piece of poetry and will sound like a legend. He was a sublime actor on the stage of the world who knew what he was thinking of when he unflinchingly said :

श्लोकार्धेन प्रवक्ष्यामि यदुक्तं ग्रन्थकोटिभिः ।
ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्मिथ्या जीवो ब्रह्मैव नापरः ।।

'I expound in half a verse, what has been spoken of in million volumes—Brahman is the Truth and the world is mere illusion ; the soul is none other than Brahman.' This great luminary did save our Sanatana dharma at a critical juncture of religious unrest and he was its most virile and combative exponent. We reckon Sankara as an *avatar* with a practical mission in an age of delusion and decadence. Unique in the achievements of his own life, his greatness all the more is enhanced by the rich legacy of thought he had left behind and the stable institutions he had founded for individual salvation and knowledge. Centuries have rolled by, still he shines in the row of renowned teachers of the world.

My father, who was engrossed in this intense study about Sankara for twenty long years, produced this biography of the Loka-Guru in 1916, which stands as his chef-d'oeuvre.

As originally planned he could not bring out all the supplements he promised to incorporate. Death overtook him at the prime of life and prevented him from fulfilling his intentions. The manuscripts containing valuable matter were lost, leaving no trace behind. Our revered Jagadguru Sri Sankaracharya of the Kanchi Kamakotipitha has graciously accorded his willingness to include my father's work in the Kosasthanam book series. Destiny has resuscitated my father's work at last after half a century of oblivion. Now the second edition has been enlarged with three appendices, one of which is a reproduction of my father's '**Successors of Sankaracharya**'. The publication of this second edition happily synchronises with the birth centenary of its author. I render my sincere pranamam to His Holiness, Sri Acharya Swamigal of Kanchi Kamakotipitha without whose munificence this work would not have come to light at all. To Sri Neelakanta Iyer of B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, I am very much indebted for the keen interest he took in this project and for his valuable advice. I will not forget the Liberty Press people who did this job promptly with typographic excellence.

It is my earnest hope that my father's method of approach to the problem of Sankara will stimulate other scholars to bring to light more facts about our World-Teacher. Lastly, my part here is very insignficant ; I can say with the poet 'गजेन प्रस्थिते मार्गे किं न याति पिपीलिका ?

I-Block, 17 Flat, Turnbulls Rd.
MADRAS-35.
Pausha Purnima, 9-2-1971

T. N. Kumaraswamy,
Author's son.

सच्चिन्मात्रं ब्रह्मयथार्थं, सर्वं चाऽन्य न्मिथ्यैव

ब्रह्मात्मैक्यं मुक्तिः सा च ब्रह्मज्ञानेनैवाप्या ।

अद्वैतं वै यस्य मतं स्यात् आद्यं तं श्रीलोकगुरुं

श्रीमच्छङ्करभगवत्पादं श्रितचिन्तामणि माश्रय भो ॥

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION

"The Age of Śankara," herewith submitted to the public, is intended to be published in Two Parts, each consisting of about 400 Pages (16 mo. Double Crown) with a number of Appendices added to each part. Part I consists of a General Introduction and four Chapters and six Appendices. Chapter I deals with the Method of Investigation followed in the book; and Chapter II enumerates the various chief Eras of Indian Chronology with their respective dates as settled and assumed in this work. Chapter III is a very long chapter dealing with all the main incidents connected with the life of Śrîmad Ādi Śankarāchārya or Śankara as he is uniformly called here,—the first Śankara who was born at Kālaṭi in the year 2593 of the Kali Yuga, corresponding to 509 B. C. of Āryāmbā and Sivaguru, and who, after establishing the Advaita Philosophy throughout the whole of India, finally attained his Brahmîbhāva at Kānchî in the year 2625 of the Kali Yuga corresponding to 477 B. C. In this chapter, is also given a short and succinct sketch of the various works composed by him and of the occasions on which they were composed. Chapter IV deals with the various Śankarāchāryas or successors of Śankara in the five great Mutts established by him for the preservation and propagation of the Advaita-Vēdānta Darśana. As at present written, it consists of four sections. In section 1 is given a detailed and critical account of the 67 successors of Śankara in the Kāmakōṭipîṭha established by Śankara at Kānchî on Vaiśākha Śukla Pūrnimā of the year Siddhārthin in 2620 of the

Kali Yuga corresponding to 481 B. C. with Śrî Śankara Bhagavatpāda himself as its first Āchārya. It also briefly notices other works of importance written by them, and other great men or poets who were contemporary with them together with the dates of their Abhishēka or installation on the Pîṭha, and Brahmîbhâva or mysterious union or departure from this mundane existence. In section 2 is given a similar account of the successors of Śankara in the Śāradā Piṭha at Śringagiri established by Sankara at Śringēri on Pausha Śukla Pūrnimā of the year Pingala in 2618 of the Kali Yuga corresponding to 483 B. C. with Hastâmalakâchârya or Pṛithvîdhara (Pṛthvîdhava) as its first Āchārya. It consists of only 33 Āchāryas from the beginning of its establishment up to the present day, as given in the list of Āchâryas of the Śringēri Mutt as at present published. Evidently the records of the Śringēri Mutt before the time of Srî Vidyâranya must have been lost, and a vain attempt has been made by some of the Āchâryas to trace up their predecessors or supposed predecessors up to the time of Ādi Śankara and in the attempt they have ignominiously failed and ended in assuming a wrong date for Ādi Śankara himself by mistaking the year 2625, the date of his Brahmîbhāva as referring to the Yudhishṭhira Śaka as understood by the Buddhists and Jains, which according to them began 468 years after the commencement of the Kali Yuga, instead of taking that year 2625 as referring to the Era of Kali Yuga, itself, and thereby wrongly placing Śankara in the first century B. C., while all the other four Mutts are uniform in their accounts in placing him in the 6th century B. C. Section 3 deals with the 142 successors of Śankara in the Gōvardhana Maṭha at Jagannāth established by Śankara on Vaiśâkha Śukla Daśamî of the year Nala in 2617 of the Kali Yuga corres-

ponding to 484 B. C. with Śrî Padmapâdāchārya or Sanandana as its first Āchārya. Section 4 similarly deals with the 73 successors of Śankara in the Sâradāpîṭha at Dwârakâ established by Śankara on Mâgha Śukla Saptamî in the year Sādhāraṇa in 2611 of the Kali Yuga corresponding to 490 B. C. with Śrî Brahmasvarupāchārya or Viśvārūpa, the brother of the famous Sureśvarāchârya or Maṇḍana Miśra, as its first Āchārya. I intended to devote a fifth section to a description of the successors of Śankara in the Jyotir Maṭha at Badarikâṣrama on the Himâlayas established by Śankara on Pausha Śukla Pūrṇimā of the year Râkshasa in 2616 of the Kali Yuga corresponding to 485 B. C. with Śrî Tōṭakâchārya or Ānandagiri as its first Āchârya ; but I was not able to get any account whatsoever of the said Mutt. It appears that the Jyōtir Mutt ceased to exist for the last two or three centuries ; and it has nothing to do with the Jōshi Mutt which now exists in its vicinity. I was told that the records of the said Advaitik Mutt were with the Mahārājah of Theri who in answer to my query has been pleased to direct me to enquire from the Paṇḍah of the temple at Badarînāth founded by Śankara ; but he has not been pleased to furnish me with any account of the said Mutt in spite of several requisitions made to him. If any one will be pleased to furnish me with some information as to the said Jyōtir Maṭha, I shall be glad to devote one more section to an account of the said Mutt, which, I am glad to hear form His Holiness Śankarāchārya of the Gōvardhana Mutt, is attempted to be revived. With this, the main body of the substance of Part I of the Age of Śankara closes.

As stated above, Part I consists of six Appendices. Appendix A deals with the age of Śrî Kṛishṇa, of the Mahābhārata War and of the Kali Yuga, wherein the various conflicting theories are discussed *pro* and *con*, and

the birth of Śrî Kṛishṇa is placed 105 years, and the Mahābhārata War 37 years, before the commencement of the Kali Yuga, which itself is fixed in the year 3102 B. C. Appendix B dealing with the age of Gautama Buddha and after refuting the various theories propounded by Western and Eastern scholars fixes his birth in the year 1862 B. C. and his Nirvāṇa or death in the year 1782 B.C. Appendix C deals with the chronology of the Kings of Kāshmir as given in the various Rājataraṅgiṇîs, and shows how they have been systematically misrepresented and misinterpreted both by Occidental and Oriental scholars, and how their interpretation must lead to the absurd result of placing Kalhana himself some 400 years after our own times, if the genuineness of Rājataraṅgiṇî is to be accepted. Appendix D deals with that important and vexed question as to the identity of Chandragupta Maurya with the Sandracottus of the Greek historians, first suggested by Sri William Jones, proposed by Colonel Wilford and seconded by Professor Max Muller and blindly followed by all scholars as it were an axiom that Chandragupta Maurya lived about 322 B. C. Herein is torn to pieces the so-called 'anchor-sheet' of Indian Chronology, pointing out in detail the absurdities of their arguments—how they are opposed to all Indian and Buddhistic works and traditions, and how the description of Sandracottus as given by the followers of Alexander the Great will only tally with Chandragupta (Xandramus) and his son Samudragupta (Sandracottus) of the Gupta Dynasty and how such identification will completely harmonise and perfectly accord with all the Buddhistic and Hindu traditions and accounts. Appendix E deals with the dynastic list of the Nepalese kings from the very end of Dvāpara Yuga up to a very recent date; and Appendix F deals with the dynastic list of the Kings of Magadha from the very commencement

of the Magadha kingdom by Bṛihadratha, the father of the famous emperor Jarâsandha up to the end of the Gupta Dynasty, as per the authority of the Purāṇas and Itihāsas, inscriptions and coins, and other materials.

Part II of the Age of Śankara deals with the vexed questions of the date of Śankara and of his system of Philosophy and Religion as revealed in his famous Bhāshyas or Commentaries on the Vedānta Prasthānatraya, and in his various minor works and Prakaraṇas. It consists of Ten Chapters. Chapter I deals with the review of current opinons on the date of Ādi Śankara. Chapter II shows how the year 788 A. D. the commonly accepted date for the birth of Śankara is quite untenable and unfounded. Chapter III deals with the two great Śankaras—Ādi Śankara and Abhinava Śankara—and shows how they have been confounded with each other by later biographers, and how the year 788 A. D. is really the date of the birth of Abhinava Śankara who adorned the Kāmakōṭipīṭha at Kânchî as the 38th successor of Ādi Śankara. Chapter IV refutes all the other theories regarding the date of Ādi Śankara. Chapter V deals with the external evidence relating to the date of Śankara such as the various Śankara-Vijayas, Puṅyaślōka-Manjarîs, Tāmrapatrānusâsanas, Guru-Paramparas, etc. Chapter VI deals with the internal evidence relating to the date of Śankara. Chapter VII determines the true age of Śankara by placing his birth in the year 509 B. C. and his death in 477 B.C. Chapter VIII gives a short account of the theoretical Philosophy and Religion of Śankara as revealed in his commentaries on the Upanishads, Bhagavadgîtâ and Brahmasūtras. Chapter IX deals with the practical Philosophy and Religion of Śankara as is evidenced by his numerous minor works—Stotras and Prakaranas. Chapter X summarises the author's conclusion.

The second Part also contains four Appendices. Appendix A deals with the so-called Edicts and Inscriptions of Aśōka and shows how these edicts and inscriptions have nothing to do whatever with Aśōka or Aśokavardhana, the grandson of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya Dynasty. Appendix B deals with the Lunar Dynasties of Kings. Appendix C deals with the Solar Dynasties of Kings; and Appendix D gives a short bibliographical account of all the works of Ādi Śankara.

Such then, in brief, is the description of the nature and scope of the work. The whole book is ready in manuscripts and perhaps requires a slight revision as it is being given to the press. As the whole book with illustrations would cost something like 4,000 Rupees, I thought of issuing the book in 8 parts, each part containing about 112 pages; and the publication of the whole work depends entirely upon the patronage of the philanthropic public, the Zamindars and Mahārājas: and I sincerely hope that this work, which embodies the result of my researches and labours for the last 20 years in the field of Samskṛit Literature, will be patronised by all patriotic Indians by subscribing liberally for separate parts or for the whole work in advance, and in doing so, they will be doing a golden piece of service to Mother India by enabling the author to publish the whole book which will certainly disabuse the minds of several of our educated countrymen of the numerous wrong notions and ideas engendered by foreign *savants* and their followers in India, regarding the age of the greatest intellect that the world has ever produced.

'SUNDARI SADANAM,'
16, Coral Merchant St.,
MADRAS
9th October 1916.

T. S. Narayana Sastry B.A., B.L.

High Court Vakil.

भूमिका

भो भो अद्वैतमताभिमानिनो वैदिकशिखामणयः! सुविदित मेवैतत् तत्र भवतां युधिष्ठिरशकस्य एक त्रिंशदुत्तरषट्छताधिक द्विसहस्रतमे (2631) संवत्सरे 2593-कल्यब्दे (509 B. C.) वैशाख शुक्लपञ्चम्यां केरलदेशे कालट्या मवतीर्य श्रीमन्महेशज्ञानावतारमहोत्साहाः श्रीमच्छङ्करभगवत्पादाः, पद्मपादादि शिष्यगणैरन्विताः, तीर्थैरिव स्वपदकमलरजोभि र्भारतमण्डलं पावयन्तः, सद्वैद्यैरिव स्वकृतोपदेशै र्वैदिकधर्मान् संरक्षन्तः, चन्द्रकलाभिरिव षोडशभाष्यरूपाभिः कृतिसुधाधाराभि रार्यवर्या नाप्याययन्तः, कल्याणचरित्रै रत्नैरिव परःशताधिकप्रकरण रत्नै र्महीमण्डल मखिलमपि मन्डयन्तः, सर्वत्र दिग्विजयं कृत्वा जैन बौद्धादिसर्ववादिनः पराकृत्य, सर्वान् वर्णानाश्रमांश्च कृतयुगवत् पूर्णे वैदिकाध्वनि नियोज्य, सकल वेदोपनिषत्पुराणेतिहाससारभूत मद्वैत वेदान्तदर्शन सर्वोत्कृष्टत्वेन संस्थाप्य, ब्रह्मक्षत्रादि निखिलविनेयलोक संप्रार्थनया चतसृषु दिक्षु द्वारका-बदरी-जगन्नाथ-शृङ्गर्षिक्षेत्रेषु चतस्रो धर्मराजधानीः प्रतिष्ठाप्य, तत् संरक्षणार्थं शारदा-ज्योति-र्गोवर्धन-शृङ्गगिरिमठेषु श्री विश्वरूप-तोटक-पद्मपाद-हस्तामलकाख्यान् चतुरः प्रधान शिष्यान् तत्तत्प्रथमाचार्यत्वेनाऽभिषिच्य, ततः काञ्च्यां, मौलाम्नायत्वेन कामकोटिपीठ निर्माप्य, तत्र स्वयमेव सर्वज्ञपीठमधिरुह्य 2625 कल्यब्दे रक्ताक्षिण्यधिवृषसितैकादशिपरे सर्वज्ञसञ्ज्ञमुनिं समवितुं सुरेश्वरं च न्यस्य उन्मुक्तलोकस्पृहो यमिसार्वभौमो देव्याः पुरः परतरे पुरुषे विलिल्ये।

एवं

श्रीमदद्वैताचार्यविधेयः

तण्डलं-शङ्करनारायण शास्त्री.

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THE AGE OF ŚANKARA

CORRIGENDA

PAGE 183, line 28—read Brahmaswarupacharya for Hastamalaka.

PAGE 184, line 17—read Prithvidharacharya for Sureswaracharya.

THE AGE OF ŚAṄKARA

INTRODUCTION

In the whole history of Religion and Philosophy, ancient or modern, no name deserves to be written higher than that of Śaṅkara. He is beyond question "the mightiest intellect the world has ever seen." None can equal him in loftiness of soul, in calmness of spirit, in firmness of mind, or in keenness of intellect. None can vie with him in versatility of genius, in sublimity of thought, in rigidity of logic and in comprehensiveness of philosophic vision. Not even the compassionate Prince of Kapilavâstu, nor even the miraculous Carpenter of Galilee can approach this holy Ascetic of Kālaṭi in depth of Philosophy and in earnestness of Religion. The boldness of his conception, his sweeping grasp of the multifarious systems of doctrine and practice that obtained in his day, the impartiality with which he solved the national problems of his time, the wonderful adaptability of his philosophy to meet all possible interpretations of ancient texts and all possible inquiries of advancing thought, above all, the clearness of his exposition, its beauty, simplicity and unassailable reasonableness—those have been the wonder of successive generations of sages and scholars, poets and philosophers, critics and thinkers, that came after him.

Philosophy, from of old, has been defined as the search after the One in the Many, and if any one ever successfully solved the problem of "the One in the Many" in its

metaphysical as well as physical, in its ethical and religious, in its social and political applications, it is, beyond doubt, the great Śaṅkara who expounded the *Advaita Darśana* or the Philosophy of the Absolute. Philosophers from Plato to Bain are unanimous in their testimony to the elevating and alleviating influence of his philosophy. 'It is the source of much needed peace and happiness to mankind; it is the law and life of every great nation; it is the balm of all evil.' Referring to it, a great Indian scholar says:[1] "The Absolute Philosophy is the Gospel of Nature:— Nature, not as understood by dogmatic materialism, but Nature, the source and support of all life and all love. It throws a bridge across the wide gulf of country and country, nation and nation, caste and caste, individual and individual. It melts all shadows of separateness into the substance of unity. One touch of it 'makes the whole world kin.' It puts new life in action, new meaning in words, new vitality in forms, new things in thought."

The Philosophy of Śaṅkara, and the wonderful manner in which he applied it to the practical conditions of his time have truly saved India from superstitious ritualism on the one hand and from the sceptic materialism on the other. It has, since its first exposition, exercised a magical charm over the mind of India; it has begun to exercise the same charm over the mind of the rest of the whole civilized world. It has been the Saviour of India and it is destined to be the Saviour of the World. The complete triumph of his Universal Philosophy over contending systems of thought has made him the One *Jagad-Guru*, the Universal *Achārya*, the High-Priest of Philosophy to the world in general.

[1] *Vide* M. N. Dvivedi's "Imitation of Śaṅkara," Introduction, p. xii.

The period when this Master-Philosopher lived is, therefore, of the most vital interest not only to the chronicler of Indian thought in particular, but to the historian of the World's Philosophy in general. His date is also of great help in fixing the dates of several other writers that lived both before and after him. It is a great pity that no critical search has yet been made about the history of Śaṅkara, about the time when he lived and wrote his wonderful commentaries on the *Prasthâna-Traya*—the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ* and the *Brahma-Sûtras*—the glory of his literary activity, to say nothing of the numerous other works composed by him in prose and poetry, in elucidation of his Philosophy and Religion. Speaking of his works in general the same great Indian scholar remarks:[2] "Fascinating, weird music; lucid, chaste, powerful, balanced expression; universal, unsectarian, fearless, loving exposition;—these are some of the characteristics of his varied literary style. He was a real master of the philosophy he preached; he can express it in half a verse or a quarto volume of many hundred pages. He would readily break a lance with any adversary, atheist, materialist, ritualist, magician, ascetic, *yogin* or *tantrik*. His writings largely reflect the spirit of the age he lived in; but the magic of the master, whose wand can wield all differences into the homogeneous unity of his spell, is unmistakable throughout."

This lack of any satisfactory inquiry with regard to the age of Śaṅkara is the more to be regretted when we find that the dates of other great teachers such as Râmânuja and Maddhva[3] have been ascertained with tolerable accuracy.

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[2] *Vide* M. N. Dvivedi's "Imitation of Sañkara," Introduction, p. ix.

[3] It is quite certain that Rāmānuja was born in 1017 A. D.; and Maddhva in 1119 A. D.

With regard to Śaṅkara's date few Orientalists, whether Eastern or Western, are agreed: some place him several centuries before, others several centuries after the Christian Era—just as it suits their fancy. The author or *Śukra-Nâḍi*, for instance, in his great zeal to assign as ancient a date as possible, places him 32 years before Śrī Kṛshṇa, about 3240 B.C.; and the author of *Kannaḍa Saṅkara-Vijaya* similarly says he was born in the year 934 of the *Kali Yugā* corresponding to 2169 B.C.[4] There are others, and they are quite numerous, who think with equal zeal that all real philosophy and civilization had been ushered into the world long after the time of Christ, and place Śaṅkara, therefore, just a few centuries before our own time. Thus the author of *Dâbistàn* (Vol. II. p. 141) brings Śaṅkara down to 1349 A.D. The discussions of several Orientalists and their new theories based on untrustworthy records have only made confusion worse confounded. The result is that this historical question remains unsolved practically to this day. Our attempt now is *first* to review the opinions and methods of these Orientalists and show how they are untrustworthy and *secondly* to determine from the materials that we have been able to gather what date should impartially be assigned to this greatest of philosophers.

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[4] *Vide Àndhra-Bhârati*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 72, under the heading "*Śankaruni-Jivitamu*" by V. Ramadas Garu, B.A., B.L., and also Appendix to Kokkanḍa Venkatramana Pantulu's Telugu "*Śankara-Vijaya-Dhvajamu.*"

PART I

REVIEW OF CURRENT OPINIONS ABOUT THE AGE OF S'AṄKARA

CHAPTER I

METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

It is by no means an easy task to settle the exact date of an ancient philosopher and writer like Śaṅkara. The question "When did a particular writer live?" presents innumerable difficulties to the historian of Indian Literature. Nor need this surprise us when we see how almost impossible it is for the historian of English Literature to ascertain the exact date of any writer before Chaucer and how the very individuality of Shakespeare has come to be questioned—though Chaucer lived but six centuries, and Shakespeare but four centuries ago. In the absence, therefore. of definite facts and figures which can be accepted as historically reliable, our only method of investigation certainly consists in bringing together all possible data and determining the hypothesis which best satisfies them.

In determining the chronology of Ancient India much valuable light is doubtless thrown by (i) Inscriptions which have been found on rocks and pillars in caves, temples, maṭhs and other buildings, (ii) Inscriptions on plates of copper found all over India, and (iii) Inscriptions on old coins unearthed in various parts of the land. Of these, the inscriptions found on copper-plates are generally more

valuable than others inasmuch as they generally contain not only the names of the grantor (who is almost always a king) and the grantee (who is similarly a philospher, poet, or religious teacher), but also a long and often complete list of the grantor's predecessors and some details also of the family or line of the grantee. Nevertheless, without further corroborating particulars, it is difficult to identify the grantor or be sure of the date (and its *era*) which the plate may sometimes bear. Hasty inferences by several Orientalists from the apparent story of certain inscriptions have been fruitful of no little confusion and have not unfrequently misled the true direction of researches. The first Orientalists had no doubt hard intellectual feats to perform to reconcile the undeniable antiquity of Indian Civilization with the common traditions of European History which could not trace back to any civilization earlier than that of Greece, nor to a period anterior to a few centuries before the Christian Era. The most liberal minds could not, therefore, be brought to admit the possibility of any great literary achievement in India before the time of Alexander's invasion; and too much has been made of the testimony of foreign travellers, whether Greek or Chinese. We can understand, for instance, that a work or author named by Megasthenes or Hieuen Tsang had existed in or before his time; but can we infer at the same time that any not mentioned by them had not so existed—unless we grant that the Greek ambassador or the Chinese traveller came to India for the express purpose of writing out a history of the civilization and literature, of India in his time, nay had the capacity, means, time and inclination to make an exhaustive research and leave to posterity a perfectly correct record? Yet this is exactly the argument throughout used by

Alfrecht Weber in his 'History of Indian Literature' in fixing the dates of several Indian authors and works.[5]

How could Megasthenes or Hieuen Tsang, whose mission was purely political or religious, be expected to know every book and author of such a vast empire as India? Is not such expectation tantamount to crediting these foreign visitors with powers, objects and facilities that they could hardly lay pretence to or any man for that matter similarly situated? Yet this is *the* argument freely used by Western Orientalists as by their Eastern followers.

A still greater fallacy has to be noted in the readiness with which identity is generally established between the unmeaning hybrid names found in the accounts of these foreign travellers and those of famous Indian kings or writers—an identity based entirely upon partial resemblances in sound and circumstances. Inscriptions on coins have been similarly handled. For instance, from the inscription on a coin bearing the figure of a standing king in Greek costume, and some modified Greek characters and figures deciphered as 'Kanerki,' the conclusion has been drawn by Dr. Fleet and implicitly accepted by many an other Orientalist, that the 'Kanerki' of the said coin must be the 'Kanishka' of Kalhaṇa's Râja-Taraṅgiṇi, and that he must have founded the Śaka Era of 57 B. C.[6] The fact

[5] Thus Megasthenes says nothing of the Great-Epic—the *Mahābhārata*—and it is "for the first time"—by a European writer we presume—mentioned by Dion Chrysostomus who flourished in the 2nd half of the 1st Century A. D., the learned Professor comes to the conclusion that the Mahābhārata must have been written after the commencement of the Christian Era (*Vide* his '*Indian Literature,*' 3rd Edition, pp. 186–188.)

[6] Nothing, however, like certainty has yet been arrived at with regard to the date of Kaniṣka. Lassen holds on the authority of this

considerably. With Kanishka of Râja-Tarangiṇī, Gautama Buddha will also go back by several centuries. We have already referred to the attempt made to fix the Buddha's date from Kanishka's. Finding probably the weakness of the ground in this method, some scholars have adopted another, and tried to calculate the time of the Buddha from that of Chandragupta, the successor of the Nandas and the founder of the Maurya dynasty. For this purpose they identify Sandrakottas of the Greek writers, contemporary of Alexander the Great, with Chandragupta, the Maurya. They take 315 B.C., as the outside terminus or the starting point; and form this attempt to determine with the help of the Purâṇas and Itihâsas and Buddhistic writings, the chronology of the various Indian dynasties mentioned in them and of the Buddha's death—thus reconstructing the history of ancient India. But even if 'Sandrakottas' be rightly interpreted as Chandragupta, the Maurya, on what evidence is he to be identified with Chandragupta, the Maurya? As a matter of fact there have been a number of kings bearing that name in the ancient history of India. There were two Chandraguptas in the Gupta dynasty; another who was a contemporary of Kâlidâsa, and a fourth who was a contemporary of Hashavardhana—Bâṇa's patron. The latter appear to have been even more famous than Chandragupta, the Maurya; and how do we know that not any of the later Chandraguptas, but the Maurya alone was described by the Greeks under the name of 'Sandrakottas'?[8] If this be granted, what becomes of the starting point of 315 B.C.?

[8] Now according to our researches Chandragupta I, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, has to be placed about 321 B.C.: and the description given of 'Sandrakottas' by Greek writers applies on all fours only to this king, and not to Chandragupta of the Maurya dynasty. (*Vide* Appendix B. for further particulars.)

Indeed as Mr. Wheeler says in his 'History of India' the date of the birth of Gautama Buddha is still uncertain. On this point, Prof. Weber says in his 'History of Indian Literature,' p. 287: "With reference to the traditions as to the Buddha's age, the various Buddhist eras which commence with the date of his death exhibit the widest divergence from each other. Among the Northern Buddhists fourteen different accounts are found ranging from 2422 B.C. to 546 B.C." Even according to Chinese accounts, Gautama Buddha has to be placed before the 10th Century B.C.[9] According to Kalhaṇa, the author of Râja-Taraṅgiṇi, who thinks that the Mahâbhârata War between the Pâṇḍavas and Kauravas took place 653 years after the commencement of the Kali Yuga, Gautama Buddha must be placed before the 14th Century B.C.; for he is said to have died 150 years before the reigns of the brothers Hushka, Jushka and Kaniskha who lived just one generation before Gonanda III who began his reign according to Kalhaṇa about 1183 B.C. (Laukika Era 1894). But if we take for granted that the Mahâbhârata War took place 37 years before the commencement of the

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[9] According to the chronology of the Chinese, the Nirvâṇa of Śâkyamuni took place in 949 or 973 B.C. instead of in 543 B.C. following the chronology of the Southern Buddhists. *Vide* Dr. *E. J. Eitel's 'Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary'*—a handbook of Chinese Buddhism, p. 139 (Hongkong, 1888) and *Beal's 'Catena of Chinese Scriptures,'* p. 116 (note).

[10] The Mahâbhârata and all the important Purâṇas uniformly hold that Sri Kṛishṇa who was a contemporary of the Pâṇḍavas and Kauravas and who had witnessed the Mahābhârata War fought between them lived for a period of over 100 years, that he passed away from this earth 36 years after the said Mahâbhârata War and that the Kali Yuga commenced on the same day on which the Lord left this earth. We also learn that Parikshit was still in the womb

Kali Yuga, which appcars to be a more correct view[10] and which is admittedly the opinion of all the Hindu writers from the most ancient times, Gautama Buddha must be placed about 2000 B.C. This view is fully supported by all the authentic Purāṇas and Itihāsas, which are beginning to be recognised as contributing genuine historical information about Ancient India and according to which the Buddha is to be placed not later than 1800 B.C.[11]

We have pointed out some of the defects in the methods of Western Orientalists and of their Indian followers in order to show to our countrymen how unsafe it is to rely upon the conclusions arrived at by these writers. We shall, as we proceed on, have occasion to point out several fallacies committed by them with respect to the age of Śaṅkara in particular. It is unfortunate that whenever an ancient record conflicts with any of their hasty conclusions, they should try to misinterpret or discredit the record rather than revise their own conclusions. This is the only explanation we can give of the treatment

of his mother Uttarâ, when her husband Abhimanyu, the illustrious son of Arjuna by Subhadrâ was killed in the Mahâbhârata War, that he was 36 years old when he was placed on the throne of Hastinâpura by the Pâṇḍavas, and that he ruled the earth for a period of 60 years from the beginning of the Kali Yuga. (*Vide*, for instance, Mahâbhârata: Stri Parva, XXV. 39–45; Mausala Parva, I. 13, II. 19–21, III. 25–41, IV. 12–24, VI. 23, VII. 10–12, VIII. 26–28; and Mahâprasthânika Parva, I. 1–45; Vishṇu Purâṇa, Fourth Amśa: XX, XXIV, 38–40, 105–115, Fifth Amśa: XXXVII. 18–20, XXXVIII. 8–9; Devi Bhâgavata Purâṇa, Skandha II. Ch. VIII, Skandha III. Ch. xxiii; Srimad Bhâgavata Purâṇa, Skandha XI. Ch. VI. 23–26, Skandha XII. Ch. II; Brahma Purâṇa, Ch. CCXII. 9–10; Garuḍa Purâṇa, Ch. CI; Harivamśa, III. 47–48; Sûrya-Siddhânta, Ch. I.)

[11] *Vide* Appendix B: The date of Gautama Buddha according to Purâṇas and Itihâsas.

accorded to the historical portions of our Purāṇas and Itihāsas, as well as to the traditions handed down from the oldest times. We so entirely agree with the late Paṇḍit N. Bhāshyāchārya on the treatment of Oriental questions by many of the so-called *savants* that we cannot refrain from quoting a few of his observations:—

"I. The writings of many of these Orientalists are often characterised by an imperfect knowledge of Indian Literature, Philosophy and Religion and of Hindu traditions and a contemptuous disregard for the opinions of Hindu writers and Paṇḍits. Very often facts and dates are taken by these writers from the writings of their predecessors or contemporaries, on the assumption that they are correct, without any further investigation by themselves. Even when a writer gives a date with an expression of doubt as to its accuracy, his follower frequently quotes the same date as if it were absolutely correct.

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III. It is often assumed without reason that every passage in the Vedas containing philosophical or metaphysical ideas must be looked upon as a subsequent interpolation and that every book treating of a philosophical subject must be considered as having been written after the time of the Buddha or after the commencement of the Christian Era. Civilization, philosophy and scientific investigation had their origin, in the opinion of these writers, within the six or seven centuries preceding the Christian Era, and mankind slowly emerged for the first time from the depths of animal brutality within the last four or five thousand years.

IV. It is also assumed that Buddhism was brought into existence by Gautama Buddha. The previous existence of

Buddhism, Jainism and Ārhat Philosophy is rejected as an absurd and ridiculous invention of the Buddhists and others who attempted thereby to assign a very high antiquity to their own religion. In consequence of this erroneous impression every Hindu Book referring to the doctrines of the Buddhists is declared to have been written subsequent to the time of Gautama Buddha."

(*Vide* 'The Theosophist,' Vol. IV. p. 304, *et seq.*)

We have certainly no desire to ignore or belittle the labours of Orientalists. We have the greatest admiration and praise for their devotion and ardour, for the enthusiasm and love they have brought to bear on the study of Indian questions. But at the same time we feel keenly that they have not completely triumphed over the difficulties and obstacles in the way of a correct understanding of the problems they have had to deal with. Their works bristle with vague theorisings, hasty conclusions and supercilious disposals of hostile opinions and facts. The result is that a good deal of what is published on the Chronology of India has to be taken *cum grano salis,* and even a tolerably accurate chronology of the various dynasties of Ancient India has yet to be sketched. This is the honest conviction to which we have arrived after a very careful and thoughtful perusal of most of the works published on the subject. On these lines, therefore, we propose to ascertain the date and identity of Śaṅkara, the author of the Commentaries on the Prasthāna-Traya, and other works,—a topic, on which we fear the researches of scholars have been unfortunately ill-directed. The evidence which we propose to admit in determining this subject may be said to be partly external and partly internal and comparative.

CHAPTER II

THE CHIEF ERAS OF INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

A good deal of the confusion and difficulty experienced in determining the dates of events in the history of Ancient India is no doubt due to the variety of Eras that have been or are current in various parts of India and the conflicting nature of opinions with respect to most of them. These opinions are fully discussed by us in a separate paper on "The Chronology of the Purâṇas and Itihâsas" to which the reader is referred for detailed facts and figures. We shall briefly reproduce here the conclusions which we have arrived therein, to avoid the constant repetition of explanations that may otherwise be felt necessary with respect to the calculations we shall have to make in the ensuing pages.

I. The *Srishtyabda* [12] of the present world commeneed about 1,955,885,011 years ago, in 1,955,883, 101 B.C.

II. The *Chatur-Yuga*, made up of Kṛita, Tretâ, Dvâpara and Kali, consists of 12,000 "years of gods" or 4,320,000 human or solar years. The *Krita Yuga* was the long "period of wandering and formation" and extended over 1,728,000 solar years. It commenced with the destruction of the Original Arctic Home of the Âryans by the last preceding Ice Age when the survivors of the evolving Âryan race were forced to roam over the northern parts of Europe and Asia in search of land suitable for new settlements. In the *Tretâ Yuga*, which extended over 1,296,000 solar years, the North-Eastern branched off from the North-Western Âryan race and settled respectively north of the 'Himâlayas'

[12] This is the Era of the Creation of the present world, presided over by our present Vaivasvata Manu.

and 'Hemakūṭa.' The *Dvāpara Yuga,* consisting of 864,000 solar years, was the age when the North-Eastern or Asiatic Āryans who were living together for a long time as members of one and the same race, divided themselves into two branches becoming the 'Devas' and the 'Asuras'—the Hindus and Irānians of the later times—and slowly settled themselves as two hostile nations to the east and west of the river Sindhu. By the end of this period, the greater portion of India had been 'Āryanized' by the Hindus. The *Kali Yuga,* the fourth or the present age, consists of 432,000 years of which 5,012 years had elapsed in 1911 A.D. This was the age when the Hindu Āryans after completely subjugating the whole of India took to an easy-going and luxurious life, quarrelling among themselves and subjecting the whole nation—once great and powerful—to the might and avarice of every foreign nation that came to India.

III. The *Kali Yuga* or the present age consisting of 432,000 solar years [18] commenced in 3102 B.C. It is

[18] Mr. Gopala Aiyar, the author of the Chronology of Ancient India, thinks, however, that the Kali Yuga originally comprised only 1000 years—or at the most only 1200 years including the Sandhyâ and Sandhyâmśa—that it commenced at the winter solstice occuring in the latter part of the year 1177 B.C., that it came to an end in 177 B.C. or 24 A.D. according as we take the Kali Yuga last for 1000 or 1200 years, that accordingly the Krita Yuga or the Golden Age began in the year 178 B.C. or 25 A.D. and that the Hindus unwilling to admit that the Krita Yuga set in at such an early date, by a subtle explanation converted the 1000 or 1200 years allotted for the Kali Yuga into so many *divine* years, thereby giving it an extraordinary duration of 432,000 ordinary *human* years. In support of his new theory he mainly relies upon two passages found in Manu Smriti and Mahâbhârata, and says that according to them the four Yugas—Krita, Tretâ, Dvâpara and Kali—with their Sandhyâs and Sandhyâmśas, consisted respectively of no more than 4800, 3600, 2400 and 1200 ordinary years of mortals. It is, therefore, necessary that we should minutely examine these two

reckoned in cycles of sixty years beginning from the 1st day of Chaitra of the year Pramâthi according to Southern

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authorities upon which he relies and determine whether they refer to divine or human years when they speak of the four Yugas as consisting of 12000 years,—especially as he himself admits that the Purânas and all other Hindu works speak of the four Yugas as consisting of 12,000 divine years or 4,320,000 human years, a divine year being equal to 360 human years.

In the first place, he refers to stanzas 69 and 70 of Chapter I. of Manu Smriti and relies upon them in support of his new theory. No doubt, according to these stanzas, if we do not take into consideration what precedes and what follows them, it will be possible to hold that the Krita, Tretâ, Dvâpara and Kali Yugas with their respective twilight periods consists of 4800, 3600, 2400 and 1200 years. But there is nothing in these stanzas themselves from which we can determine with certainty that the years referred to in them are ordinary human years and not divine years. In order, therefore, to determine this point, we shall quote the whole passage from the Manu Smriti and leave it to our readers to judge it for themselves. The passage runs as follows :—

"निमेषा दशचाष्टौ च काष्ठा, त्रिंशत्तु ताः कला: ।
त्रिंशत् कला मुहूर्तः स्यात्, अहोरात्रं तु तावतः ॥ ६४ ॥

अहोरात्रे विभजते सूर्यो मानुष दैविके ।
रात्रिः स्वप्नाय भूतानां, चेष्टायै कर्मणा महः ॥ ६५ ॥

पित्र्ये रात्र्यहनी मासः प्रविभाग स्तु पक्षयोः ।
कर्मचेष्टा स्वहः कृष्णः, शुक्लः स्वप्नाय शर्वरी ॥ ६६ ॥

दैवे रात्र्यहनी वर्ष प्रविभाग स्तयोः पुनः ।
अह स्तत्रोद गयनं, रात्रिः स्या द्दक्षिणायनम् ॥ ६७ ॥

ब्राह्मस्य तु क्षपाहस्य यत्प्रमाणं समासतः ।
एकैकशो युगानान्तु क्रमश स्त न्निबोधत ॥ ६८ ॥

astronomers All traditions, records and writings from the oldest times are absolutely agreed on this point—that 5012

चत्वार्याहुः सहस्राणि वर्षाणान्तु कृत युगम् ।
तस्य तावच्छती सन्ध्या सन्ध्यांशश्च तथाविधः ॥ ६९ ॥

इतरेषु ससन्ध्येषु ससन्ध्यांशेषु च त्रिषु ।
एकापायेन वर्त्तन्ते सहस्राणि शतानि च ॥ ७० ॥

यदेतत् परिसंख्यात मादावेव चतुर्युगम् ।
एतद् द्वादशसाहस्रं देवानां युगमुच्यते ॥ ७१ ॥

दैविकानां युगानान्तु सहस्रं परिसंख्यया ।
ब्राह्ममेक महर्ज्ञेयं तावती रात्रिरेवच ॥ ७२ ॥

तद् वै युगसहस्रान्तं ब्राह्मं पुण्य महर्विदुः ।
रात्रिं च तावती मेव ते ऽहोरात्रविदो जनाः ॥ ७३ ॥

(Manu-Smriti, Ch. I. 64–73.)

Now, in the Sacred Books of the East Series, Professor Bühler has translated these stanzas as follows :—

" 64. Eighteen *Nimeshas* (twinklings of the eye) are one *Kâshṭhâ*, thirty *Kâshṭhâs* one *Kalâ*, thirty *Kalâs* one *Muhûrta*, and as many (*Muhûrtas*) one day and night.

65. The sun divides days and nights, both human and divine, the night (being intended) for the repose of created beings and the day for exertion.

66. A month is a day and a night of the Manes, but the division is according to fortnights. The dark (fortnight) is their day for active exertion, the bright (fortnight) their night for sleep.

67. A year is a day and a night of the Gods ; their division is (as follows) : the half year during which the sun progresses to the north will be the day, that during which it goes southwards the night.

68. But hear now the brief (description of) the duration of a night and a day of *Brahmâ* and of the several ages (of the world, *yuga*) according to their order.

years of Kali have now elapsed. None of our new-fledged

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69. They declare that the *Kṛita* age (consists of) four thousand years (of the Gods); the twilight preceding it consists of as many hundreds and the twilight following it of the same number.

70. In the other three ages with their twilights preceding and following, the thousands and hundreds are diminished by one (in each).

71. These twelve thousand (years which thus have been just mentioned as the total of the four human) ages, are called one age of the Gods.

72. But know that the sum ef one thousand ages of the Gods (makes) one day of *Brahmâ*, and that his night has the same length.

73. Those (only, who) know that the holy day of Brahmâ, indeed end after (the completion of) one thousand ages (of the Gods) and that his night lasts as long, (are really) men acquainted with (the length of) days and nights."

It clearly follows from this that the 12000 years given as the total period of the four Yugas is given by Manu in *divine* years and not in ordinary human years. This is not only the natural meaning of the passage as can be determined by common sense, but the same meaning has been given in all the seven commentaries available on Manu-Smṛiti. It is in the same terms that we find the total period of these four Yugas given in all the Purâṇas and Siddhântas. The passage preceding stanzas 69 and 70 in which the different periods of these Yugas are given defines what is meant by a divine year, and the passage following the same explicitly states that these 12000 years which form the total period of the four Yugas are calculated in *divine* years. We are, therefore, unable to see how Manu-Smṛiti supports Mr. Gopala Aiyar in his new theory that the four Yugas consists of only 12000 human years.

Let us now see how far the Mahâbhârata supports our new theorist. With regard to the age of the Yugas two references are given in the Mahâbhârata. The first reference to Yugas is found in the 188th Chapter of Vana Parva. Mr. Gopala Aiyar evidently relies upon stanzas 22-27 of this chapter, but there is nothing to show that the period of 12000 years which constitute the four Yugas are calculated in ordinary human years. The commentator Nilakaṇtha explains the

theorists have assigned any substantial reason for altering this traditional view, apart from their fanciful imaginings.

expression द्वादश साहस्री—Dvâdaśa-Sâhasri—to mean 12000 years by *Deve-mana*, according to divine calculation. Further, the very next stanza declares that the 12000 years which constitute the four Yugas from one Deva Yuga, and that 1000 such Yugas constitute a day of Brahmâ. It is therefore clear from this the that years in the Yugas are calculated are described, as in the Manu-Smriti, in *Deva-Mâna* and not in *Manushya-Mâna*.

The second reference to the Yugas in the Mahâbhârata is found in the 231st Chapter of Sânti Parva. It contains a fuller account of the various Yugas and leaves no doubt on the point in question; but our theorist conveniently omits giving any reference to the same as it clearly contradicts his view. We shall therefore quote below the passage in question and leave our readers to judge the point for themselves:

"काष्ठा निमेषा दशपञ्चचैव त्रिंशत्तु
काष्ठा गणयेत् कलां ताम् ।
त्रिंशत्कलाश्चापि भवेन्मुहूर्तो भाग:
कलाया दशमश्च य स्यात् ।। १२ ।।
त्रिंशन्मुहूर्तंतु भवेदहश्च रात्रिश्च संख्या मुनिभि: प्रणीता ।
मास:स्मृतो रात्र्यहनीच त्रिंश त्संवत्सरो द्वादशमास उक्त:।।१३।।
संवत्सरं द्वे त्वयने वदन्ति संख्याविदो दक्षिण मुत्तरञ्च ।। १४ ।।
अहोरात्रे विभजते सूर्यो मानुषदैविके ।
रात्रि: स्वप्नाय भूतानां चेष्टायै कर्मणा मह: ।। १५ ।।
पित्र्ये रात्र्यहनी मास: प्रविभाग स्तयो: पुन: ।
शुक्लोऽह: कर्म चेष्टायां कृष्ण: स्वप्नाय शर्वरी ।। १६ ।।
दैवे रात्र्यहनी वर्षं प्रविभाग स्तयो: पुन: ।
अह स्तत्रोदगयनं रात्रि: स्या द्दक्षिणायनम् ।। १७ ।।

IV. The *Laukikâbda* dates from the year 24 of Kali or 3078 B.C. It is otherwise known as *Saptarshi Era* and is traditionally used in Kâśmîr. It is reckoned by cycles of 100 years. The figures representing the centuries are generally omitted in Laukika chronology and have to be

ये ते रात्र्यहनी पूर्वं कीर्तिते दैवमानुषे ।
तयोः संख्याय वर्षाग्रं ब्राह्मे वक्ष्याम्यहःक्षपे ।। १८ ।।

दिव्यै र्वर्षसहस्रैस्तु कृतत्रेतादिसंज्ञकम् ।
चतुर्युगं द्वादशभि स्तद्विभागं निबोध मे ।। १९ ।।

चात्वार्याहुः सहस्राणि वर्षाणां तत् कृतं युगम् ।
तस्य तावच्छती सन्ध्या सन्ध्यांशश्च तथाविधः ।। २० ।।

इतरेषु ससन्ध्येषु सन्ध्यांशेषु तत स्त्रिषु ।
एकपादेन हीयन्ते सहस्राणि शतानिच ।। २१ ।।

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तपः परं कृतयुगे त्रेतायां ज्ञान मुत्तमम् ।
द्वापरे यज्ञमेवाहु र्दान मेकं कलौ युगे ।। २८ ।।

एतां द्वादशसाहस्रीं युगाख्यां कवयो विदुः ।
सहस्रपरिवर्तं तद् ब्राह्मं दिवस मुच्यते ।। २९ ।।

रात्रि मेतावतीं चैव तदादौ विश्व मीश्वरः ।
प्रलये ध्यान माविश्य सुप्त्वा सोऽन्ते विबुध्यते ।। ३० ।।

सहस्रयुगपर्यन्त महर्यद् ब्रह्मणो विदुः ।
रात्रिं युगसहस्रां तां तेऽहोरात्रविदो जनाः ।। ३१ ।।

It is clear from this long passage of the Mahâbhârata that the years of the various Yugas are calculatad in Deva-Māna. and that the four Yugas, Kṛita, Tretâ, Dvâpara and Kali, comprise a total period of 12000 divine years, or in other words the Kali Yuga comprises 432,000 human years.

/ut of the context. It is the era largely used in all the Ka/- Tarangin/s. Some Orientalists hold that the Laukika Era dates from 26 Kali.

V. The *Yudhishṭhira* Ṡaka, according to all classes of Hindus, commenced 37 years before the beginning of the *Kali Yuga* in 3139 B. C., and dates from the coronation of Yudhishṭhira, the eldest of the five Pāṇḍava brothers at the close of the Mahâbhârata War.

The Jains, Buddhists and other non-Hindus of India also use in their calculations a *Yudhishṭhira S'aka* which they place 468 years after the commencement of Kali or in 2634 B.C.

VI. The *S'aka Kāla* or the Ṡaka Era, properly so-called dates from the defeat of the Sakas by Ṡrī Harasha Vikramâditya of Ujjain, and it commenced 2526 years after the time of Yudhishṭhira,[14] and must be fixed at 576 B.C., reckoning from the death of Yudhishṭhira which took place

[14] Mr. V. Gopala Aiyar—a type of a modern Oriental Scholar—has given to us a very original date for the Kali Yuga and the Mahâbhârata War. One of his very weighty arguments—which may be taken as typical of the rest—is based on a ridiculous contention and interpretation of a stanza in Kalhaṇa's Râja-Taraṅgiṇi which gives the interval between the time of Yudhishthira and that of "*Ṡaka-Kâla*." The stanza runs as follows; (I. 56)—

"आसन् मघासु मुनयः शासति पृथ्वीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ ।
षड्द्विकपञ्चद्वियुतः शककालस्तस्य राज्यस्य ॥"

This stanza has until recently been interpreted by all classes of Hindu and European Orientalists to mean: "When Yudhishthira ruled the earth, *Munis* (the Great Bear) stood in the Nakshatra (asterism) Magha. The interval between his reign and the 'Ṡaka-Kâla' is 2526 years." According to this authority *Ṡaka-Kâla* must be fixed 2526 years after the time of Yudhisthira and must be placed at 576 B. C., reckoning from the death of Yudhishthira which took place at about

immediately after the departure of Srî Krishṇa from the world (i.e.) at about 3102 B.C. Srî Harsha Vikramâditya of

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the beginning of Kali Yuga (3102 B.C.) or at 611 B.C., reckoning from his coronation which took place about 3139 B.C. Mr. Gopala Aiyar, however, quotes this stanza in support of his contention that the *Kali-Yuga* commenced in the year 1177 B.C.—16 years after the Mahâbhârata War—and not in the years 3102 B.C.—36 years after the said War—as has been hitherto uniformly held by all scholars. He, therefore, first shows his scholarship of Sanskrit Grammar and Prosody by holding that the last quarter of the above-quoted stanza does not contain the requisite number of *Mâtrâs* or syllabic instants, that it contains only fourteen instead of fifteen, that the expression 'शककालः'—'Saka-Kâlah'—must be a mistake—"a glaring slip"—committed by Kalhaṇa, and that the said quarter must be corrected into "शाक्यकालस्तस्य राज्यस्य"—'Sâkya-Kâlas tasya râjyasya.' We simply cannot understand how Mr. Gopala Aiyar lost his head over such a plain verse. Kalhaṇa was a better poet than Mr. Gopala Aiyar and he knew that the stanza was perfectly correct. Our critic evidently forgot that the last लघु (short syllable) of a verse is equal to a गुरु (long syllable) and as such is equal to *two* mâtrâs or syllabie instants. The quarter in question does, therefore, contain 15 mâtrâs and is perfectly correct: whereas Mr. Gopala Aiyar's correction makes it no stanza at all—neither Âryâ nor anything else! Further this stanza is found both in Âryabhatta's Bṛihatsamhitâ and Vṛiddha Garga's work on astronomy in the very same form as we find it quoted in Kalhaṇa's Râja-Taraṅgini; and all these great writers must have also committed the same glaring mistake!

Then comes Mr. Gopal Aiyar's ingenuity of interpretation! It concerns the expression "षड्द्विक पञ्च द्वियुतः" — "Shaḍ-dvika-pañcha-dvi-yutah"-which means 2526. But according to our theorist it means 25×26. Why? Under what rule of Grammar is the compound to be so interpreted? We must point out that under no rule of Sanskrit Grammar can the expression "Shaḍ-dvika-pañcha-dvi-yutah" be possibly interpreted as meaning twenty-five times twenty-six or six hundred and fifty. It may mean 6 + 2 + 5 + 2 or perhaps 6×2 × 5×2 but certainly not 26×25. But Grammar must give place to originality! So this learned scholar thinks the expression means

Ujjayinî is mentioned by a host of writers. Kalhaṇa mentions him in his Râja-Taraṅgiṇi as a contemporary of

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25×26 or 650. But if he be simply content with this original interpretation without meddling with the stanza, he will have to place Yudhishṭhira 650 years before the Saka Kâla. He perfectly knew the absurdity of interpreting Saka Kâla to mean Saka of 57 B. C., or the Saka of 78 A.D. He evidently ignored Sri Harsha Vikramâditya of Ujjayini, the Sakâri mentioned in the Râja-Taraṅgiṇi itself and nothing could have been more natural and easy than to have ascribed this 'Saka Kâla' to the defeat of the Sakas by that great Emperor; but that would not suit his purpose. He was, therefore, obliged to strain the stanza and amend the expression शककाल:—'Saka-Kâla,' into शाक्यकाल:—'Sâkya-Kâlah,' as the former stood as a stumbling block on the way of his arriving at the desired conclusion. By 'Sâkya-Kālah'—his precious amendment for 'Saka-Kâlah' he means the date of the death of Sâkyamuni or Gautama Buddha. In other words Yudhishṭhira lived 650 years before the Buddha; and as the latter died in 548 B.C., according to Western Orientalists (which date is of course unquestionable!) Yudhishṭhira lived about 650+543 or 1193 B.C., and the Kali Yuga, therefore, commenced in 1177 B.C.!!

Such is modern scholarship. The writer has pre-conceived the date and alters and misinterprets poor Kalhaṇa just as he chooses! And all this ridiculous bungling passes now-a-days for originality and learning. Mr. Gopala Aiyar fortunately, admits that Kalhaṇa himself meant by this expression 2526. that he took Kaliyuga as having commenced in the year 3102 B.C; and yet the Râja-Taraṇgini must support our critic in his very original discovery of the date of Yudhishṭhira, of the Mahâbhârata War and of the Kali Yuga. But common sense and grammar would tell us that what we have stated is the correct interpretation of the stanza quoted from Kalhaṇa's Râja-Tarañgiṇi. In the first half of the stanza we are furnished with an astronomical reference that the *Munis* (Great Bear) occupied the constellation of Magha (Regulus) when Yudhishṭhira was king. This position of the Seven Rishis or Ursa Major at the time of Yudhishṭhira has been recorded in almost all the Purâṇas. The great astronomer Varâhamihira, has also recorded it in Chapter XIII of his Bṛihatsamhitâ. He says that the Rishis take a period of 100 years to go over each of

Hiraṇya, Mâtrigupta and Pravarasena II. He is described as having established his supremacy over the whole of Northern India. He is said to have completely defeated the Śakas [15] in a great battle, the *Saka Kâla* being founded in

the 27 Asterisms. It might be possible to calculate the time of Yudhishṭhira from the position of the Rishis with reference to this constellation alone: but to safeguard against confusion with any later or earlier conjunction of the Great Bear and Magha, the second half of the stanza mentions another method of calculation that Yudhishṭhira lived 2526 years before Saka Kâla, about which in Kalhaṇa's time there was evidently not the same ambiguity of interpretation as at present. Whatever might be his view with regard to the period when Yudhishṭhira lived, Kalhaṇa is positive that Gonanda I, the founder and the first king of Kâśmir was a contemporary of Yudhishṭhira; for he himself states in his Râja-Tarañgiṇi (I. 59–63) that he (Gonanda I) was killed by Baladeva, brother of Śri Kṛishṇa, and his son Dâmodara I was killed by Śri Kṛishṇa himself and that his grandson, Gonanda II, was quite a young child at the time of the Mahâbhârata War. Now if we calculate 2526 years from Gonanda I, we approximately arrive at the time of Hiraṇya Mâtrigupta and Pravarasena II, in whose time it is, that Śri Harsha Vikramâditya, according to Kalhaṇa himself, defeated the Śakas, and established the Śaka Kâla. So the expression 'Shaḍ-dvika-pañcha-dvi-yutah' can in no circumstances be interpreted to mean 26 x 25 or 650, whether we take Gonanda I as having commenced his reign 37 years before Kali or 653 years after Kali.

[15] No adequate reasons have been given why the Śakas referred to in the above passage as having been defeated by Sri Harsha Vikramâditya of Ujjain should be identified either with the Indo-Bactrians or with the Indo-Scythians. It is on the strength of this identification that Śri Harsha Vikramâditya is placed by some Orientalists in the 1st Century B.C., and by others in the 6th Century A.D. It is suprising to learn why these Śakas should be identified with any foreign tribes that came to India after the time of Alexander the Great. The name Śakas is of frequent occurrence in ancient Sanskrit Literature. Manu says (Ch. X. 144–145) that the Śakas, Yavanas, Kâmbhojas, Pâradas and Pahlavas were originally Kshatriyas, but

commemoration of the decisive victory. It was then that the title 'Vikramāditya' was applied to him—possibly at a great assembly of kings and poets—which afterwards superseded his real name of Srī Harsha. He is said to have installed his protege, the poet Mātṛigupta-who is identified with Kālidāsa, the author of Mālavikāgnimitra, Virkamorvaśi and Śākuntala—on the throne of Kāśmīr after the death of Hiraṇya. He is referred to as Śakāri Vikramāditya and Srī Harsha Vikramāditya by Rāmila and Meṇtha respectively—two poets whom Rāja-sekhara places immediately after Bhāsa, a predecessor of Kālidāsa—whose works Maniprabhā

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became outcasts by neglecting their Vedic duties, etc. The Mahābhārata (Adi parva, Ch 85) speaks of these tribes as descendants of Kshatriyas and having taken part in the Great War between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas. The Rāmāyana of Valmiki (Bālakāṇḍa, Sarga 56) mentions them among the tribes who fought during the war of Viśvāmitra with Vasishtha. The Gautama Dharma Sutra (Ch. IV. 21) speaks of the Sakas, Yavanas, etc., as a *Pratiloma* caste of the Āryas. It is stated in the Padma Purāna (Svarga-khaṇḍa, Ch. 15) that the Śakas etc were driven out by King Sagara, a descendant of Ikshvāku, to the countries beyond the borders of India. after getting their heads etc.. shaved under the advice of Vasistha, although they were Kshatriyas. Vishnu Purāna (Amsā II. Ch. 3) deseribes the Yavanas as living in the west, the Śakas in the north-west, the Kirātas in the east, and the four Indian castes in the middle of India during the time of the Great War. The Matsya Purāna also refers to Śakas, Yavanas, etc., as degraded Āryan tribes living on the frontiers or Bhārata Varsha. Pāṇini refers in his Ashtādhyāyi (II. 2-84) to Śakas and Yavanas and requires शक to be placed before यवन ; and Pāṇini even according to Western Orientalists lived long before the time of Alexander the Great. The Śakas, therefore could under no circumstances be identified with any foreign tribes that invaded India after Alexander's time. Although the same thing has to be said with regard to the Yavanas, it has to be admitted that the term denoted a foreign tribe in the later Sanskrit Literature; but the same thing could not be said of the Śakas who were always understood to be a sub-division of the Āryas.

and Hayagrivavadha throw so much light on the age of Śaṅkara as well, that they, will be referred to later on. There is no doubt, therefore, of the Śaka Kāla being founded by Śri Harsha Vikramāditya, and it cannot be assigned any date later than 576 B.C.

VII. The Era of Śri Harsha dates from 457 B C., just 400 years before the Samvat or Vikrama Era founded by another Vikramāditya; and may be taken roughly to indicate the *terminus ad quem* of the suzerainty of Śri Harsha Vikramāditya. Alberuni,[16] the celebrated Mahomedan historian also speaks of the existence of a

[16] Vide Alberuni's 'India' by Dr. Edward C. Sachau, Vol. II. Ch. XLIX: At page 7, Alberuni says "Now the year 400 of the Yazdagird—the gaugeyear—corresponds to the following years of the Indian Eras:—

1. To the year 1488 of the Era of Sriharsha,
2. To the year 1088 of the Samvat or the Vikrama Era,
3. To the year 953 of the Era of Sālivāhana.

Again at page 5, we have "The year 4132 before the gauge-year is the epoch of Kali Kāla." Further on Alberuni says "The Navroz or the New year's day of the Persian year 400 (the gauge-year) fell on the 9th March 1031 A.D." Thus the Era of Sriharsha, according to Alberuni, falls about 457 B C., 400 years before the Samvat or the Vikrama Era, and that the Kali Yuga dates from 3102 B. C. This Era of Sriharsha has been largely current in Nepāl and other places. A good deal of confusion has been introduced into the Chronology of the dynasties of kings that ruled at Nepāl by Dr. Fleet and other Orientalists by mistaking the Harsha Era given in some of the copper plates as referring to an Era supposed to have originated with Harshavardhana Silāditya of Kanouj who lived about 606-7 A.D. Thus in a Charter of Parama Bhattaraka Mahārājādhiraja Sivadevavarma, who is the 27th king of the 5th or the Sūryavamśi dynasty of Nepāl kings, the date is given as Harsha Samvat 119, and our Orientalists at once

Harsha Era in Nepāl and other Northern countries, 400 years anterior to the Samvat or Vikrama Era.

VIII. The Vikrama Era ascribed to a Vikramāditya of Mālava dates from 57 B.C. It is otherwise known as Samvat Era or Mālava Era.[17]

IX. Śālivāhana Era[18] ascribed to king Śālivāhana of Prasthāna dates from 78 A.D.

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assume the Harsha Samvat to be an Era founded by Harshavardhana, and take it as equivalent to 119+A.D. 606-7=725-726 A.D. and say that the Nepāla Vamśāvali which places him about 338 B.C., calculated according to the dates given in Kali Yuga, must be a mistake. Whereas, if we take the Harsha Era as referring to this Harsha Era spoken to by Alberuni, Sivadevavarma will have to be placed 457 B.C.—119=338 B.C., which exactly tallies with the Nepāl Vamśāvali as given in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIII. pp. 411–423, by Paṇḍit Bhagavān Indrāji, Ph. D. Thus for instance, the Nepālese Chronology distinctly says that the first king of the Sūryavamśi dynasty came to the throne in the year 1389 of the Kali Yuga or 1712 B.C. But then these Orientalists calculating from their imaginary date assigned to Śivadeva Varma, place Vṛishadeva Varma, the contemporary of Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya in the 6th Century A.D., whereas according to the Nepâlese Chronology. and also according to our calculation taking Śivadeva Varma as reigning in 338 B.C., Vṛishadeva Varma, who was the 18th king of the Sūryavamśi dynasty, will have to be placed about 500 B.C. Farther, as a matter of fact, the 23rd king, Vasantadeva is expressly said to have been crowned in Kali 2800 or 301 B.C., and Vṛishadeva Varma could, therefore, under no circumstances be placed later than Vasantadeva.

[17] It is a Luni-Solar year and is in common use in Hindustan. Its epoch begins when 3044 years of the Kali Yuga had expired.

[18] The beginning of this Era, commonly known as Śakābda in Southern India dates from the birth of Śālivāhana who is said to have reigned many years over the kingdom of Narasinga and to have been a liberal encourager of the arts and sciences. The years are called Śāka and are common solar years.

X. The Kollam Era[19] is said to commence from the foundation of Kollam (Quilon) and dates from 825 A.D.

These are the chief Śakābdas or Indian Eras[20] that are or have been current at different terms in different parts of India. In the following pages we shall have occasion to make use of many of these eras, as different works calculate according to different Eras; and in trying to ascertain the

[19] It is also known as the Era of Paraśurāma and is used in that part of the Peninsula of India called Malayāla (Malabar) by the natives, extending from Mangalore through the provinces of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore to Cape Comorin. According to approved tradition, it derives its name from the foundation of Kerala by Paraśurāma in 3176 B.C., and is reckoned by cycles of 1000 years, and the present or the sixth cycle began in the year 1825 A.D. It is a solar year commencing on or about the 14th August of each year. But the people of Malabar take it as commencing from 825 A.D., and the present year 1911 A.D. is written as 1087 of the Kollam Era.

[20] There are many other Eras which are or have been current in different parts of India. Some of them merely mark the beginning of the reigns of kings or dynasties of kings. To facilitate reference, we give below, a few of these eras. The present year Virodhakṛit which is the 45th year of the cycle of 60 years beginning from Prabhava according to Southern School of Astronomers, commences on Thursday the 13th day of April 1911 and corresponds to the years of the following Eras:—

(1) The year 1,955,885,013 of the present Sṛishṭyabda.
(2) The year 5211 of Bārhadrathābda (of Magadha),
(3) The year 5117 of Śri Kṛishṇa Jananābda,
(4) The year 5091 of Bārhaspatyamâna Shashtyabda. founded by Gonand I (of Kāśmir).
(5) The year 5050 of Yudhishṭhirābda of the Hindus.
(6) The year 5026 of Sauramâna Shasṭyabda, founded by Yalambara (of Nepâl)
(7) The year 5014 of Śri Kṛishṇa Niryaṇâbda.
(8) The year 5013 of Kalyabda, or Pârikshitābda,
(9) The year 4989 of Laukikâbda founded by Gonanda II (of Kâśmir),
(10) The year 4545 of Yudhishṭhirâbda of the Jains, etc.,

date of any writer from references in older Hindu books, we have to be careful about the chronology explicitly or implicitly followed by the writers of the books in question.

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(11) The year 4036 of Pradyotābda (of Magadha),
(12) The year 3871 of Saiśunagābda (of Magadha),
(13) The year 3830 of Tṛitiya Gonandābda (of Kāśmir),
(14) The year 3778 of Paśuprekshadevābda (of Nepāl),
(15) The year 3623 of Bhūmavarmābda (of Nepāl),
(16) The year 3511 of Nandābda (of Magadha),
(17) The year 3327 of Mauryābda (of Magadha),
(18) The year 3011 of Suṅgābda (of Magadha),
(19) The year 2828 of Pratāpādityābda (of Kāśmir),
(20) The year 2712 of Kāṇvābda (of Magadha),
(21) The year 2667 of Āndhrābda (of Magadha),
(22) The year 2636 of Meghavāhanābda (of Kāśmir),
(23) The year 2487 of Śaka Kāla or the Defeat of the Sakas,
(24) The year 2368 of Sriharshābda (of Ujjain),
(25) The year 2236 of Guptābda (of Magadha),
(26) The year 2212 of Vasantadevābda (of Nepāl),
(27) The year 2012 of Amśuvarmābda (of Nepāl),
(28) The year 1968 of Vikramābda (of Mālava),
(29) The year 1834 of Salivāhanābda (of Prasthāna),
(30) The year 1612 of Vīradevābda (of Nepāl),
(31) The year 1310 of Karkotābda (of Kaāśmir).
(32) The year 1305 of Harshavardhanābda (of Kanouj),
(33) The year 1224 of Pratāparudrābda (of Orangal),
(34) The year 1189 of Guṇakāmadevābda (of Nepāl),
(35) The year 1161 of Sadāsivadevābda (of Nepāl),
(36) The year 1056 of Kollābda (of Malabar),
(37) The year 1056 of Utpalābda (of Kāśmir),
(38) The year 1031 of the Nepālābda
founded by Jayadevamalla (of Nepāl),
(39) The year 1021 of Nārāyaṇadevābda (of Nepāl),
(40) The year 972 of Yaśaskaradevābda (of Kāśmir),
(41) The year 908 of Prathama Lodhrabda (of Kāśmir),
(42) The year 897 of Bhojadevābda (of Dhārā).
(43) The year 810 of Dvitīya Lodhrābda (of Kāśmir)
(44) The year 611 of Rāmadevābda (of Devagiri),
(45) The year 587 of Harisihmadevābda (of Nepāl),
(46) The year 383 of Krishṇarāyābda (of Vijayanagara),
(47) The year 143 of Pṛithvi Nārāyaṇābda (of Nepāl),

CHAPTER III

MAIN INCIDENTS OF SAṄKARA'S LIFE.

There have been many Śaṅkarāchāryas all over the Advaitic Maṭhs in India and many of them have been famous writers of works on the Advaita Philosophy and Religion. In the Kāmakoti-Pīṭha alone, one of the five Maṭhs established by Ādi Śankarāchārya and originally located at Kānchi (Conjeeveram), but subsequently removed to Kumbhakonam, there have been up to this time 68 Āchāryas, who all bore the title of Śri Śankarāchārya, and among whom there have have been no less than eight Āchāryas who also actually bore the name of Śaṅkara. Of these latter again, the 38th Āchārya was, in addition considered, like the First Śaṅkarāchārya, an incarnation of Śiva, possessed of a genius and personality in no way inferior to those of his illustrious predecessors, so much so that he has been by later writers identified with the First Śaṅkarāchārya himself, the greatest of the Expounders of the Advaita Philosophy and Religion. This identity in name, in title, in function, in status and in views has given room to no small confusion between the Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya and his successors. There are innumerable works, large and small, which go under the name of Śankarāchārya, and it is really impossible at this distant period of time to determine with certainty which of them were the handworks of Ādi Śankarāchārya, and which were written by his successors. But it is really fortunate that all scholars should uniformly agree in ascribing the Bhāshyas on the Prasthāna-Traya to the First Śaṅkarāchārya or to Śaṅkara as we shall call him hereafter. It is also a matter of great satisfaction to us to find that we have sufficient materials for determining the main incidents of his remarkable life.

On the life of Śaṅkara, we have no less than ten Śaṅkara-Vijayas or Biographies of Śaṅkarāchārya, purporting to have been written by the followers of his school of Philosophy; and these may be mentioned in the following order according to their probable date of composition:—

(1) The Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Śri Chitsukhāchārya one of the direct disciples and co-students of Śaṅkara, known under the name of Bṛihat Śaṅkara-Vijaya;

(2) The Śankara-Vijaya of Ānandagiri, the well-known commentator of the Bhāshyas and Vārtikas of Śaṅkara and Sureśvara, known under the name of Prāchina Śaṅkara-Vijaya;

(3) The Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Vidyāśaṅkara or Śaṅkarānanda, the author of Ātma Purāna and of the Dipikās on the Upanishads, Bhagavadgitā and Brahmasūtra, known under the name of Vyāsāchaliya;

(4) The Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Govindanātha, one of the Paṇdits of Kerala, known under the name of Āchārya Charita or Keraliya Śaṅkara-Vijaya;

(5) The Śaṅkara Vijaya of Chūḍāmani Dikshita, the author of many Sanskrit poems and dramas, known under the name of Śaṅkarābhyudaya;

(6) The Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Anantānandagiri known under the name of Guru Vijaya or Āchārya-Vijaya;

(7) The Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Vallisahāyakavi, one of the adherents of the Śṛingagiri Maṭha, known under the name of Āchārya Digvijaya;

(8) The Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Sadānanda, also an adherent of the Śṛingagiri Maṭha, known under the name of Śaṅkara Digvijaya Sāra;

(9) The Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Chidvilāsa, also an adherent of the Śringagiri Matha, known under the name of Śaṅkara Vijaya Vilāsa;

(10) The Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Mādhava, also an adherent of the Śṛingagiri Maṭha, known under the name of Samkshepa Śaṅkara Vijaya.

Besides these various Śaṅkara Vijayas, we have a number of Punyaśloka-Mañjaris and **Guru-Paramparās* preserved by the various Advaitic Maṭhs in which we have a brief account of the chief incidents of Śaṅkara's life recorded by his own immediate disciples. We have also a brief reference to Śaṅkara's wonderful life recorded in an indirect manner in Gauḍapadollāsa, Harimiśriya, Patañjali-vijaya, Brihad Rajataraṅgini, Hayagrivavadha, Maṇiprabhā Gururatnamālikā, Sushumā, Vimarśa and other works. Of these works, the last three are of invaluable interest to the historian of Śaṅkara and the Tāmrapatrānuśasana issued by King Sudhanvan of Dvārakā, one of the royal disciples of Śaṅkara and published in Vimarśa by His Holiness, the present Śaṅkarāchārya of the Dvārakā Maṭha contains a brief and authentic account of the life of Śaṅkara. There are also hostile references to the life of Śaṅkara in the works of the Jainas, Maddhvas and Vāishnavas, such as *Jina-Vijaya*, *Maddhva-Vijaya*, *Maṇi-Manjari*, etc. Though in some of the later Śaṅkara-Vijayas and in the works of those hostile religionists abovementioned, the lives of many of the Śaṇkarachāryas—especially the life of Ādi Śannkara of Kālaṭi and that of Abhinava Śaṅkara of Chidambaram —are blended together by ascribing the incidents of the life of these to one and the same person, it is still quite possible to separate and distinguish the main incidents of the life of Ādi Śaṅkara, the admitted author of the Bhāshyas on the Prasthāna-Traya from those of his successors and our

* "Guruparampara Namamala of Govardhana Mutt" is in our possession—Ed.

attempt in the present chapter is simply to sketch in brief the main incidents of the life of this Śaṅkara.

We are told by Śaṅkara himself in his preface to his masterly commentary on the Bhagavad-Gita, that the Almighty and Omniscient Lord with a view to secure the well-being and happiness of the animate and inanimate world that He brought into existence at the beginning of Creation, produced Marichi and other Prajāpatis on the one hand, and Sanaka and other Kumāras on the other and taught them respectively the two paths of Dharma described in the Karmakāṇḍa (Samhitās and Brāhmanas) and Jñāna-kāṇḍa (Upanishads) of the Vedas, the Pravṛitti-Mārga and Nivṛitti-Marga—the Path of Action and the Path of Knowledge—the one leading to temporal and ephemeral prosperity and the other to spiritual and eternal bliss. As time went on, these two paths of Dharma, which were being trodden for ages, came, however, gradually to be neglected as men became more and more engrossed in their temporal concerns, and thought less and less of their spiritual interests; so that the real sense of the Vedas was lost and unrighteousness prevailed all over the land. The Lord said: "Whenever, Oh Bhārata! righteousness is on the decline and unrighteousness assumes predominance, I come forth Myself to protect the good, to punish the wicked and to establish Dharma on a strong foundation. Thus do I appear from age to age." In accordance with this, His gracious promise, the Unborn and Eternal Lord incarnated Himself as Śrī Kṛishna in the interval of time between Dvāpara Yuga and Kali Yuga, in the house of Vasudeva, in the womb of Devakī, and re-established Dharma on earth. Out of pure mercy He, then, proclaimed to mankind the knowledge of the two paths of Pravṛitti and Nivṛitti

in His Divine Song—the Bhagavad-Gita—in the shape of the eighteen wonderful discourses addressed to Arjuna.

As the Age of Kali advanced, Virtue once more began to wane and Vice in all its hideous forms began to spread over the land, entailing untold miseries upon mankind. With a view to avert these miseries, men of intelligence like Jaimini and Buddha began to unfold the teachings of the Vedas to persons of their respective times, giving exclusive prominence to *Karma* on the one hand and Vijñāna on the other, so that in course of time in the hands of their ignorant followers who were men of narrow views, even their pure teachings were calculated to lead men to atheism, immorality and consummate hypocrisy. The two paths of Dharma taught by the Lord were again in imminent danger of having their past wiped out from history under the formidable influence of Blind Ritualism of the Brâhmaṅa Tântrikas on the one hand and of Dry Formalism of the Bauddha Free-thinkers on the other.

Minds like Patañjali and Bâdarâyaṇa had already pointed out in their Sūtras—the Yogadarṣana and Vedântadarṣana—that the salvation of the Vedic Dharmas lay in the recognition of inaction in action, of unity in diversity. Since the time of Patañjali, a new school of Philosophers was springing up at Badarikâśrama on the Himâlayas under the guidance of Bâdari and his son Bâdarâyana, the author of the Brahma Sūtras. Śuka Yogîndra, Gauḍapâdâchârya and Govinda Bhagavatpâda who came in that school had already found that the true ideal of the Vedas was concealed in the Absolute Philosophy of the Upanishads and that the reconciliation of the various conflicting theories of Vedic Philosophy as well as of Non-Vedic Philosophy, depended upon the distinction between

the Parâ and Aparâ Vidyâs of the Upanishads. But it required a born genius, a master-mind, an inspired teacher, to enlarge upon these materials, to lay hold of the esoteric Vidyâs spoken of in the Upanishads, to emphasize the distinction between Karma and Jñâna, to proclaim to the world the truth of the Absolute Philosophy of the Vedânta for the purpose of saving the country from running headlong into political chaos, intellectual ruin and spiritual perdition. It was at such a time that the Divine Śaṅkara made his appearance on the earth.

In the ancient *agrāhara* of Kâlati resplendent with the temples of Śri Govinda and Śri Vṛishâdrinâtha—of the Gods Hari and Hara—on the northern bank of the Chūrṇi (Alavoi) river, in the enchanted country of Kerala, in the sacred land of Paraśurâma, there lived a pious Brāhmaṇa pair by name Śivaguru and Āryâmbâ, of the family of Vidyâdhirâja, famous for their great learning and wealth. The husband and wife, though possessed of all other blessings, had no issue for a long time. But the grace of the God Vṛishâdrinâtha, in the all-auspicious Nandana Saṃvatsara of the year 2593 of the Kali Yuga (corresponding to 509 B.C.), on a Sunday (Bhânu Vâsara) when the Sun was on its Northern Path (Uttarâyaṇa), on the 5th day (Pañchami Tithi) of the Bright Half (Śukla Paksha) of the month of Vaiśâkha (May-June), in the asterism Punarvasu under the sign Sagittarius of the Zodiac (Dhanur Lagna), was born, in a miraculous manner, a wonderful male child from the sacred womb of Āryâmbâ, the dutiful wife of Sivaguru. Being exceedingly delighted at the sight of this marvellous child of wonderful lustre and complexion like that of God Śankara, bearing a mark like the digit of the moon on the top of the head, a dimple like the eye in the centre of the forehead, and a mole like the trident on each of the shoulders the

father gave him the name of Sankara. He was true to his name inasmuch as he was the embodiment of the blessings of Śaṅkara and a source of immense joy to every one who saw him. The young Śaṅkara grew up possessed of singular personality and precocious intelligence which led people to think of him as an actual incarnation of Śaṅkara, the God of Wisdom Himself.

The child exhibited such uncommon intelligence even at the time of his first *Abda-pūrti*, the father felt the necessity of initiating him into the mysteries of the Alphabet by celebrating his *Aksharābhyāsa* as soon as he reached his third year. It is said of the young boy that he was an *Ekaśrutidhara* and that he could repeat any work as soon as he went through it even once. Chitsukhâchârya, one of his co-pupils who became his constant companion and trusted disciple afterwards, informs us that young Śaṅkara learnt all the branches of the secular literature including grammar and rhetoric in less than two years and that his father had to invest him with the sacred thread in the very commencement of his fifth year by performing his *Upanayana* so that he may be duly intruduced into the study of the Vedas and of other sacred literature. Not only on account of his innate genius and extra-ordinary learning, but also on account of his genial disposition and kind heart, the boy Śaṅkara soon became the chief object of admiration and attraction in Kâlaṭi and its neighbourhoods. A large number of students, young and old, already began to gather around him as his pupils to learn the wisdom of the Vedas from his eloquent lips and the Bâlabodha Saṅgraha said to have been composed by him in his sixth year remains to this day as a standing monument of the wonderful feats of intellect of this young Śaṅkara. His biographers tell us that on one of these days while he was studying in his

Gurukula, he went into a poor Brâhmaṅs house, as was usual with Brahmachârins, to receive his Bhikshâ, and the poverty-stricken Brâhmaṇi—the mistress of the house—not being able to give him any substantial alms, brought and gave an *Amalaka* (a fruit of the Emblic Myrobalan) to young Śaṅkara as a humble token of her contribution towards the *Bhikshâ*; and that the latter was so much moved at the sight of her poverty, he prayed to the Goddess of Wealth by composing his famous Kanakadhârâ Stotra and had her house filled with showers of gold *Amalakas*.

Young Śaṅkara thus became proficient in the whole field of Āryan Literature before he reached his eighth year. His intellect began almost intuitively to perceive in each part of the Veda as he was taught. the central doctrine of the Unity of the Absolute Existence on which his *Advaita Darśana* or the Philosophy of the Absolute was to be built. But the poor father had not the happiness to see his son accomplish this grand object of his mission. In the beginning of the eight year of Śaṅkara. while he was still engaged in his studies, the aged Śivaguru passed away from this world. This sad event merely helped to guide his innate tendency and he soon formed within himself a resolution to renounce the world and become a Sannyâsin. It was the great reverence the he had for the departed soul of his worthy father whose funeral ceremonies he had to perform, and the extreme affection that he had for his loving mother who bewailed her sad fate, that prevented him from taking this course for a period of one year. No sooner did he finish his Paitṛimedhika-karma by performing his father's first annual ceremony (Śrâddha) than he began to persuade his mother who was most sorry for her loneliness during the remainder of her life to willingly give her consent

to his becoming a Sannyâsin. The incident of the crocodile, which is said to have caught him by his foot while bathing in the river Chûrṅi with his aged mother, furnished him with a splendid opportunity in getting the needed permission and the mother at last allowed her son to adopt the vow of asceticism, as a case of *Apat-Sannyasana* and declared him a Sannyâsin. No sooner was he so declared than the crocodile left him and he emerged from the water as a declared Sannyâsin. Thus after assuring his mother that he would always be ready to attend to her spiritual wants Śaṅkara entered the holy order of Sannyâsins by renouncing the world while still quite a lad of nine years, thereby transferring the sphere of his activity from the narrow limits of his simple homestead and village to the wide expanse of interesting humanity and the world.

The young ascetic, after repeating his promise to his mother, left Kâlaṭi, all alone, in search of a Guru with a view to get himself formally initiated into *Krama-Sannyâsa*. It is said that just before Śaṅkara left Kâlati, God Achyuta appeared to him in a dream, blessed him in his journey and directed him to go to Govinda Bahavadpâda to get himself formally initiated into Sannyâsa; and it was at this time that Śaṅkara composed his famous *Achyutâshṭaka*. On his way he passed through Gokarṇa, an ancient city on the West Coast, where he was joined by Vishṇuśarman[21] one of

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[21] He is the famous Chitsukhchârya who came to the Pîtha of the Dvârakâ Maṭha, as the successor of Śrî Brahmasvarûpâchârya, in the year 2691 of the Yudhishṭhira Śaka corresponding to 2654 of the Kali Yuga (448 B.C.) and attained his Brahmîbhâva on Pausha Śukla Tṛitîyâ of the year 2715 of the Yudhishṭhira Śaka, corresponding to the year 2678 of the Kali Yuga (424 B.C.) at the advanced age of 80 years. He himself states in his Śaṅkara-Vijaya in the first or

his co-students at Kâlaṭi while he was studying in his *Gurukula*, who thereafter became one of his immediate and trusted disciples under the name of Chitsukha. He wandered with him long in Northern India until he came in contact with Govinda Yogin at Amarakânta on the bank of the Narmadâ, where he was waiting with his son Bhartṛihari and with some of his select disciples to receive the young

Upodghâtà Prakaraṇa, that he was a native of Gokarṇa in Kerala, that he became acquainted with Śaṅkara even while he was a boy of five years reading in his Gurukula, that he had very high admiration for his superior talents and extraordinary knowledge of all the Vaidika and Laukika lores even before he took the permission of his mother to become a Sannyâsin, that he followed Śaṅkara when he went in search of a Guru to get himself formally initiated into Sannyasa, that he never departed from Śaṅkara from the time he left his native place until he attained his marvellous Brahmibhâva at Kâñchî in the temple of the Goddess Kâmâkshî. It fact, he was an eye-witness of the life and doings of Śaṅkara from start to finish, and one of his direct disciples, being himself older than Śaṅkara by five years. In his biography of Śaṅkara, which is known to the later writers, on account of its bulk, under the name of Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya or Guru Śaṇkara Vijaya, he has given a full account of the lives of Saṅkara and Sureśvara and of the various works they had written. Excepting the Bhâshyas which are simply referred to, almost all the minor works of Śaṅkara are collected and given in his work with the occasion on which they were composed. (The book has been evidently divided into three parts, (I) Pûrvâchârya Satpatha, (II) Śaṅkarâchârya Satpatha and (III) Sureśvarâchârya Satpatha; but we have been able to get a mutilated copy of the work containing only Śaṅkarâchârya Satpatha.) It is a pity that the work has not been as yet completely collected and printed in any part of Indiâ. Śankara Vijaya Vilâsa attributed to one Chidvilâsa Yati appears to be a mere re-production and imitation of Chitsukhâchârya's large work by a modern writer, with certain omissions, additions and alteration to suit his own private ends. Chitsukha also appears to be the author of Chitsukhî, an important work on Vedânta.

ascetic Śaṇkara, having been previovsly ordained by the Lord to initiate him into regular asceticism.

From the most ancient times there have been in the various parts of India, recognised seats of learning for each school of Indian Philosophy, sanctified with the name of some great teachers. The ancient schools of[22] *Vaiśeshika*,

[22] Although it is difficult to ascertain when each of the six well-known Darśanas or Orthodox schools of Indian Philosophy exactly came into existence. we can easily assert that those Darśanas came into existence in the following order, as we can trace a consistant development of thought from one to the other :—

I. The Vaiśeshika Darśana of Kaṇâda,
II. The Nyâya Darśana of Gautama,
III. The Śâṅkhya Darśana of Kapila,
IV. The Yoga Darśana of Patañjali,
V. The Mîmâmsâ Darśana of Jaimini, and
VI. The Vedânta Darśana of Bâdarâyaṇa.

With regard to the non-orthodox systems Philosophy we are of opinion that they came into existence in the following order :—

I. The Lokāyatika Darśana of the Chârvâkas,
II The Arhata Darśana of the Jainas,
III. The Tathâgata Darśana of the Bauddhas,
IV. The Pâñcharâtra Darśana of the Bhâgavatas.
V. The Paśupata Darsana of the Śâktas

The last three Darśanas—the Pâñcharâtra, the Pâśupata and the Kaula—are clearly developments upon the Yoga Darśana. the Mîmâmsâ Darśana and the Vedânta Darśana, giving prominence to Bhakti (Devotion), Karma (Action) and Jñâna (Knowledge) respectively with, of course, a fusion of the Brahman theory of the Upanishads with a belief in a personal Highest Being, According to the last, Brahman carries within its own nature an element from which the material universe orginates, but according to the first two, it is only the operative cause. All these systems of philosophy were in existence at the time of Śaṅkara when he wrote his famous Bhâshya on the Vedânta Sūtras of Bâdarâyaṇa wherein he has refuted the doctrines of all these other Darśanas and of their subdivisions.

Nyâyā and *Sānkhya* philosophies founded respectively by the great sages Kaṇâda, Gautama and Kapila, which had hitherto exercised authority as independent masters in the field of Indian Thought, had now sunk to the low position of bond-slaves to the Lokâyatika, Jaina and Bauddha Darśanas—the three great unorthodox schools of philosophy that prevailed in India at about the beginning of the 10th Century B.C. To counteract the evil effects of these unorthodox schools of philosophy which were dragging India into the most alluring chance of running on the path of utter denationalization and ruin, and to restore the Sanâtana Dharma to its pristine purity as taught in the Śrutis and Smṛitis with the aid of those three ancient schools of orthodox philosophy, three other great schools of Orthodox Philosophy were founded by three great eminent sages about the close of the 10th Century B.C., under the names of *Yoga Darśana*, *Mîmāmsâ Darśana* and *Vedânta Darśana*. Each of these schools had its recognised seat of learning, where its traditional interpretations have been treasured up and handed down by oral teaching to generations of earnest and faithful students.

Of all these schools of philosophy, the most important and authoritative was the Vedânta Darśana founded by Bâdarâyaṇa,[28] son of Bâdari, at Badarikâśrama on the

[28] It is a great pity that Bâdarâyaṇa, the author of the Vedânta Sūtras is generally identified with Kṛishṇa Dvaipâyana or Veda Vyâsa the compiler of the Vedas and the author of the Mahābhārata. Bādarâyaṇa in his Vedânta Sūtrâs quotes and refutes the doctrines of almost all the other schools of Indian Philosophy including those of the Lokâyatikas, Jainas and Bauddhas and he cannot, therefore, be identical with Kṛishṇa Dvaipâyana who was a contemporary of Śrî Kṛishṇa and the Paṇḍavas and who lived in the interval of time between Dvâparayuga and Kaliyuga, at about 3102 B.C. Further

Himalayas. He found that the existing schools of philosophy —both orthodox and unorthodox—were in some way or other opposed to the true spirit of the Srutis and Śmṛitis as handed down by Veda Vyâsa or Kṛishṇa Dvaipâyana, the compiler of the Vedas and the author of the Mahâbhârata. He at once understood that the true ideal of the Śrutis lay in the unity of the Infinite in man and the Infinite in nature and that this was fully declared and established

Bâdarâyaṇa quotes from Patañjali, the renowned author of the Mahâbhâshya on Pâṇini's Vyâkaraṇa and he is also accredited as having written the Bhâshya on Patañjali's Yuga Sûtras. As Patañjali's date is fixed between the 10th and the 9th Century B.C; (Vide 'Age of Patañjali' by the late Pandit N. Bhâshyâchârya) Bâdarâyaṇa can, under no circumstances, be placed before the 10th Century B.C. Moreover, Bhahavadgîtâ, which forms a portion of the Mahâbhârata written by Veda Vyâsa is quoted as an authority by Bâdarâyaṇa in his Vedânta Sûtras under the name of Smṛiti, but this could hardly be the case if the author of both these works—the Bhagavadgîtâ and the Vedânta Sûtras—were one and the same. Veda Vyâsa's patronymic name is Kṛishṇa Dvaipâyana and he is said to be the son of the great sage Parâśara by Satyavatî and his hermitage was near Prayâga (Allahabad) between the Ganges and the Jamna. Whereas, Bâdarâyaṇa, as the name itself clearly shows, was the son of Bâdari und his hermitage was at Badarikâśrama on the Himalayas. It is possible that Bâdarâyaṇa's father and preceptor was called Bâdari after the name of this sacred hermitage, which soon became a great seat of learning for the Vedânta school of Philosophy.

The earliest authentic reference to Bâdarâyaṇa and Veda Vyâsa is by Sañkara himself, and it is clear from his works that he always made a distinction between Kṛishṇa Dvaipâyana Veda Vyâsa, the author of the Bhagavadgîtâ, and Bâdarâyaṇa or Vyâsa, the author of the Vedânta Sûtras. In commenting on Bhagavadgîtâ, Sañkara refers to the author in the Preface in the following terms :—

"तं धर्मं भगवता यथोपदिष्टं वेदव्यास: सर्वज्ञो भगवान् गीताख्यै सप्तभि: श्लोकशतै रुपनिबबन्ध ।" (It is this Dharma

in the Āraṅyaka or Upanishad portion of the Vedas and not in the Samhitā and Brâhmaṇa portions of the same. Like the great Veda Vyâsa, Bâdarâyaṇa divided the whole of the Vedas into two main parts—the Karmakâṇda and the Jñânakâṇda—the exoteric and the

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which was taught by the Lord, that the omniscient and adorable Veda Vyâsa embodied in the seven hundred verses called Gîtâs.) But in the only place where he names the author of the Vedânta Sūtras, Sankara says as follows: "नन्वेवं सति, सातिशयत्वा दन्तवत्व मैश्वर्यस्य स्यात्, ततश्चैषा मावृत्तिः प्रसज्येते त्यत उत्तरं भगवान् वादरायण आचार्यः पठति—"अनावृत्तिः शब्दा दनावृत्तिः शब्दात्"—इति।" (But from the circumstances of the Lordly power of the released souls not being absolute, it follows that it comes to an end and then they will have to return from the world of Brahman! To this objection, the reverend Bâdarâyaṇa Ācharya replies in the following Sūtra—Of them there is non-return according to scripture; non-return according to scripture'—(Vide Sankara's preface to Vedanta Sūtra, IV. 4–22). It is apparent from these two passage that Sankara makes a clear distinction between the author of the Bhagavadgîtâ and that of the Vedânta Sūtras, taking the one as the incarnation of the Omniscient Lord Himself, and the other as one of his own respected Āchâryas or teachers.

Further, in Sutra III. 3–32 of his Vedânta Darśana, Bâdarâyaṇa himself refers to Kṛishṇa Dvaipayana, as an instance of persons who knew Brahman and yet took on new bodies for the purpose of saving the world. In commenting upon this Sūtra, Sankara says:—
"उपपन्नात्वियं चिन्ता ब्रह्मविदामपि केषांचिदितिहासपुराणयोर्देहान्तरोत्पत्तिदर्शनात्। तथाहि, अपान्तरतमा नाम वेदाचार्यः पुराणर्षि विष्णुनियोगात् कलिद्वापरयोः सन्धौ कृष्णद्वैपायनः संबभूवेति स्मरन्ति।"
(There is indeed room for the inquiry proposed, as we know from Itihâsa and Purâṇa, that some persons although knowing Brahman, yet obtained new bodies. Tradition informs us that Apântaratamas, an ancient Rishi and teacher of the Vedas, was, by the order of

esoteric, and arranged the latter into Ten Principal Upanishads. Again he separated the Bhagavadgîtâ from the rest of the Mahâbhârata and made it—perhaps with slight alterations—an independent authority[24] like the Upanishads for his new school of philosophy. But bare quotations from these Śrutis and Smṛitis were not enough to satisfy the growing demands of the intelligent inquirers of his time. Further, there were apparent inconsistencies between the various texts of the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgîtâ,

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Vishṇu, born on this earth as Kṛishṇa Dvaipâyana at the interval of time between the Dvâpara Yuga and Kali Yuga.) If Kṛishṇa Dvaipâyana was the author of these Sutras, nothing would have been more natural and easier for Śaṅkara than to refer to the author himself as an instance. Further it is clear from this passage, that Kṛishṇa Dvaipâyana, according to Śaṅkara, lived before the Kaliyuga and he could not be, therefore, identical with Bâdarâyaṇa, the author of the Vedânta Sûtras and the reputed commentator of Patañjali's Yoga Sûtras. Moreover, the Vedânta Sûtras are widely known as Bâdarâyaṇa Sūtras, but no one has yet called them Kṛishṅa Dvaipayâna Sūtras. Saṅkarānanda, one of these successors of Saṅkara, and one of the greatest of Sanskrit scholars, makes it clear in his preface to his commentary on the Bhagavadgîtā, that these two persons could never be identical. In that preface, he refers to the various works ascribed to Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana, but makes no mention of the Vedānta Sūtras, as one of his works. No doubt some of the later Āchāryās have made a confusion between these two names, but that is no reason why the authors of the Bhagavadgîtā and the Vedānta Sūtras should be blindly identified and looked upon as one person.

[24] The colophon at the end of each chapter of the Bhagavadgîtā makes it clear how it has been elevated from its original position as an Itihāsa into an independent authority like the Vedas. The actual words are: "इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु, ब्रह्मविद्यायां, योगशास्त्रे, श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे, मोक्षसंन्यासयोगोनामाऽष्टादशोऽध्याय:" According to this, Bhagavadgîtā is not only an Upanishad, but it is also a Brahma Vidyā, a Yoga Śastra, and a Samvāda.

which required to be reconciled and explained away by means of strict reasoning. To reduce, therefore, the teachings of the Upanishads and of the Bhagavadgitâ or the Mahâbhârata to a consistent and systematic whole, to explain away apparent contradictions in those various texts, and to refute all objections that have been or might be urged against them, it was necessary for Badarâyana that he should compose a work strictly based on reasoning. He accordingly composeed his famous[25] Vedânta Sūtras in four chapters in 556 aphorisms. Each of these four chapters[26] (Adhyâyas) comprises in its turn four sections (Pâdas) and

[25] These Sūtras are also called and known under various names. They are called Uttara Mîmâmsâ Darsana, as reasoned exposition of the Uttara or latter part of the Vedas, i.e., of the Upanishads, in contradistinction from Pūrva Mîmâmsâ Darsana, ascribed to Jaimini who expounded the Pūrva or the earlier part of the Vedas, *i.e.*, the Mantras and the sacrificial portions of the Brâhmaṇas. They are also called Brahma Sūtras, aphorisms expounding the nature of Brahman as distinguished from the Dharma Sūtras or aphorisms expounding the nature of Dharma, the subject matter of Jaimini's work. They are also called by other names such as Sârîraka Sūtras or Sârîraka Mîmâmsâ or Sârîraka Darsana (as expounding the true nature of the embodied soul), Vyâsa Sūtras (Aphorisms expounding the true opinion of Veda Vyâsa or Kṛishṇa Dvaipâyana as handed down to Bâdarâyaṇa Vyâsa through a long line of teachers like Âtreya, Âsmarathya, Auḍulomi, Kâsakṛitsna, Kârshnâjani, Bâdari, Jaimini, etc.); Bâdarâyaṇa Sūtras (Aphorisms composed by Bâdarâyaṇa, son of Bâdari, also known as Vyâsa, on account of his having arranged the Srutis and Smṛitis as detailed above). They also go under the name of Vedânta Mîmâmsâ or Vedânta Darsana (Reasoned exposition of the Vedânta) and Âupanishadî Mîmâmsâ or Aupanishad Darsana (Reasoned exposition of the Upanishads).

[26] These four chapters are called the Samanvayâdhyâya (connecting), Avirodhâdhyâya (reconciling), Sâdhanâdhyâyâ (means) and Phalâdhyâya (fruit). The first four Sūtras embody the fundamental doctrines of the Vedânta and the rest of the Sūtras are more or less explanatory of the same.

each section a number of sub-sections (Adhikaraṇas). These three—the Upanishads, the Bhagavadgîtâ and the Vedânta Sūtras—constitute, according to Bâdarâyaṇa, the complete canon of the Vedânta Darśana. They are called the three Prasthânas or Institutes of Vedântic teaching, the Upanishads being called the Śruti-Prasthâna (Scriptural Institute); the Bhagavadgîtâ, the Smṛiti-Prasthâna (Traditional Institute); and the Vedânta Sūtras, the Nyâya-Prasthâna (Logical Institute).

It is said that these Sūtras has been thoroughly revlsed and enlarged upon by Śuka Yogîndra, the son and direct disciple of Bâdarâyaṇa; and Śaṅkara in his commentary on the Vedânta Sūtras often refers to the compiler under the name of *Sūtrakâra*, wherever it was necessary for him to distinguish[27] the original author from the actual compiler of the said Sūtras. The compiler often quotes the authority of

[27] There cannot be any doubt that the main body of the Vedānta Sūtras is the handwork of Bâdarāyaṇa, but the text of those Sūtras as we have them at present clearly bears the mark of having been compiled by an equally great Vedântic scholar with his own additions and modifications; and tradition uniformly ascribes this task to Śuka Yogîndra, the son and disciple of Bâdarâyaṇa himself. In corroboration of this statement it may be sufficient to quote the following Sūtras as expressing the opinion of Bâdarāyaṇa as distinguished from that of the Sūtrakâra or the actual compiler of the Vedânta Sûtras:

"तदुपर्यपि बादरायणः संभवात्" I, 3-26.

"भावं तु बादरायणोऽस्ति हि" I, 3-33.

"पूर्वं तु बादरायणो हेतुव्यपदेशात्" III, 2-41.

"पुरुषार्थोऽतः शब्दादिति बादरायणः" III, 4-1.

"अधिकोपदेशात्तु बादरायणस्यैवं तद्दर्शनात्" III, 4-8.

"आनुष्ठेयं बादरायणः साम्यश्रुतेः" III, 4-19.

Bâdarâyaṇa as opposed to Jaimini and other teachers, and his views appear to be decidedly Advaitic, more in accordance with those of Śaṅkara, his great-great disciple than with those of Bâdarâyaṇa, his own father and direct teacher. He looks upon both Bâdarâyaṇa and Jaimini as his teachers, and he seems to give great weight to the opinion whenever[28] both the said teachers are agreed.

"अप्रतीकालंबना नयतीति बादरायण
उभयथाऽदोषात् तत्क्रतुश्च" IV, 3-15.

The compiler of these Sūtras or as Śaṅkara, calls him Sūtrakāra, often contrasts the views of Bâdarâyaṇa with those of Bādari and Jaimini and agrees with one or more of these. The following consecutive Sûtras from the 4th Pâda of the 4th Adhyâya of the Vedânta Sûtras will suffice to show this:

"अभावं बादरि राह ह्येवम् ॥ १० ॥"
"भावं जैमिनि र्विकल्पामननात् ॥ ११ ॥"
"द्वादशाहवदुभयविधं बादरायणोऽत: ॥ १२ ॥

Śaṅkara in all these places calls these as Āchâryas. (Cf. तत्र बादरिस्तावदाचार्य : etc., जैमिनिस्त्वाचार्य : etc., बादरायण: पुनराचार्य: etc.)

[28] Compare the following Sūtra (IV. 1—17) "अतोऽन्यापि ह्येकेषा मुभयो:" (For, there is also a class of good works other than this according to some. There is agreement of both teachers as to the fate of these works.) Śaṅkara commenting upon this Sūtra says: "Both teachers, Jaimini as well as Bâdarâyaṇa, are agreed that such works, undertaken for the fulfilment of some special wish, do not contribute towards the orgination of true knowledge." Similarly commenting on Sûtra III. 4-40, Śaṅkara writes: "By the word 'also,' the Sūtrakāra indicates the consensus of Jaimini and Bâdarâyaṇa on this point, in order to confirm thereby the view adopted." Many more passages might be quoted, but we think what we have already cited is quite sufficient to show that the compiler, whoever it might be, has clearly revised and enlarged upon Bādarâyaṇa's original work.

Śuka is said to have been one of[29] the greatest of the Yogins of his time and it is said that he attained the knowledge of Brahman, even while he was quite an infant. He is the first great teacher who proclaimed Sannyâsa or asceticism as the best mode of life for attaining spiritual growth, by himself practically becoming a[30] Sannyâsin of the order of *Paramahamsa Parivrâjakâcharya.* He is said to have taught the Vedânta Sūtras to several of his disciples at Badarikâśrama, among whom Gauḍapâda and Upavarsha were prominent.

It is an established practice of the ancient Hindus that whenever a work is written in the form of Sūtras, there must, of necessity, be a small commentary called Vṛitti to enable the reader to understand those Sūtras; and the author of the Vritti is generally either the author of the Sūtras themselves or a pupil or pupil's pupil of his. We know that such a Vṛitti had been written on the Vedanta

[29] That is the reason why he is generally ealled Śuka Yogîndra. In commenting on Sūtra (IV. 2—14) "स्मर्यते च" Śaṅkara instances Śuka in support of his proposition that he who knows Brahman neither moves nor departs. He says: "Śuka, having moved through the air more rapidly than the wind and having shown his yogic power was seen by all beings." By the way in which he speaks of him, Śaṅkara himself appears to have witnessed this wonderful Yogic feat of his great-great teacher, Śuka Yogîndra.

[30] Gauḍapâdāchârya, one of the greatest of Śuka's disciples, always refers to himself in the following terms: "श्रीपरमहंस परिव्राजकाचार्य श्रीमच्छुकमुनीन्द्र शिष्य:" as "the disciple of the Revered Paramahamsa Parivrājakāchārya Śrî Śukamunîndra". (Compare the colophon at the end of his Vārtika on the Nṛisihmottaratapanîyopanishad which runs as follows: इति श्रीपरमहंस परिव्राजकाचार्य श्रीमच्छुकमुनीन्द्रशिष्यश्रीमद्गौडपादविरचिते उत्तरतापनीयविवरणे प्रथम: खण्ड :।"

Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa as well as on the Mîmāmsā Sūtras of Jaimini by[31] Upavarsha, a brother of Varshāchārya under whom the great grammarians, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, the authors of Ashṭādhyāyi and Vyākaraṇa Vārtika are said to have learnt their first principles of Sanskrit Grammar.

The next great teacher in regular succession after Suka Munindra in the school of Vedānta Philosophy founded by Bādarāyaṇa was the great scholar Gauḍapādāchārya spoken of above. He is said to have originally belonged to the Dravidian country (Southern India) and to have learnt the Mahābhāshya the great commentary on Pāṇini's Ashṭadhyayi by Patañjali[32] from the lips of that great sage himself, at Puṇḍarikapura along with 999 other pupils who

[31] Upavarsha must no doubt have been a contemporary of Patañjali, Jaimini and Bâdarâyaṇa, the authors of the three great systems of later Hindu Philosophy. He is referred to by Śaṅkara several times in his Bhâshyâ on the Vedânta Sūtras under the respectful appellation of Bhagavad Upavarsha; and in commenting on Sūtra III. 3–53, "एकआत्मन: शरीरे भावात्" he distinctly refers to Upavarsha's Vṛitti on the Vedânta Sūtras. The passage in question—"अतएवात्र भगवता उपवर्षेण प्रथमे तन्त्रे आत्मास्तित्वाभिधानप्रसक्तौ शारीरके वक्ष्याम इति उद्धार: कृत:"—also clearly shows that the Reverend Upavarsha must have also written a Vṛitti on Jaimini's Pūrva Mîmāmsâ. The expression "Bhagavat" applied to Upavarsha by Sankara as distinguished from the expression "Acharya" applied to Bâdarâyaṇa, Jaimini and Gauḍapâda, distinctly shows that Upavârsha charya must have passed away from this world long before the advent of Śaṅkara into Northern India.

[32] Patañjali is believed to be an incarnation of Âdi Śesha. It is said that he was born in a miraculous manner from a great sage who was making penance on the bank of the Gonarda river in Kaśmîr and he is, therefore, sometimes known as Gonardîya. Besides his Mahâbhāshya which is his latest and best production, Patañjali is said to have written two other works on Yoga and Vaidya. King Bhoja, in his commentary on Patañjali's Yoga sutras, refers to him not only as

had come down to that sacred city from different parts of India to learn that Great Commentary on Sanskrit Grammar. As all these pupils were anxious to learn the Mahābhāshyā from his own sacred lips, Patañjali is said to have hit upon a device by which he could teach them all, at one and the same time, as effectively and impressively as if he taught every one of them separately in person. With a view to spend the greater portion of his time in the daily service of the Lord, Patañjali arranged for a course of daily lectures (Āhnikas) to be delivered in a spacious hall in the sacred temple of Naṭarāja Himself between certain specific hours of the day. A curtain was put up between the teacher and the pupils and the latter were strictly warned not to raise the curtain under any circumtances while the former was delivering his lectures behind the screen. It is said that as soon as he went up to the *dais* to deliver his lectures behind the curtain, he assumed his superhuman form as Ādi Śesha and addressed his pupils with all his one thousand faces to give strength to his voice and emphasis to his lectures : but as soon as he finished his lecture for the day, he is said to have resumed his human form and appeared again before his pupils in his usual shape.

It so happened that on the last day of his course of lectures when Patañjali was expected to finish his Mahā-

a great philosopher, but also as a great grammarian and physician. He is thus said to have prescribed medicine for body, mind and spirit —all three. Hearing the greatness of Puṇḍarīkapura (now known as Chidambaram) and of the Great Lord Naṭeśa, the Chief Deity of that sacred place, Patañjali is said to have gone to that ancient city in Southern India and spent the last days of his mundane existence along with Vyāghrapâda in serving the Lord Naṭesa and in teaching his Mahâbhâshya and other works to the various pupils that gathered around him to learn the same.

bhāshya, while he was, as usual, addressing his 1000 pupils behind the curtain with his 1000 faces as Ādi Śesha, and while Gauḍapāda, one of his pupils had gone out of the lecture-hall, without the teacher's permission, to answer calls of nature, some of the pupils in the hall, being struck with wonder at the majestic voice of his peroration, raised the curtain, out of pure curiosity, to see if it could be possible for a human being to address them in that wonderful manner. The result was most disastrous. All the pupils in the hall had been instantaneously burnt to ashes by the poisonous flames that proceeded from his one thousand faces. Alas! it was too late for the teacher to find out the mistake of his pupils; and the master's labour of several years had all been lost in an instant by the inquisitiveness of the pupils.

Patañjali had suddenly made up his mind not to teach the Mahābhāshya to any one in future; but he soon became extremely sorry that not one out of his one thousand pupils had been spared to spread his Mahābhāshya in the world. While he was thus feeling sorry on the one hand on account of all his labour having been lost in vain, and indignant on the other at the rash inquisitiveness of his pupils in having disobeyed his commands, poor Gauḍapāda, his Draviḍian pupil, re-entered the hall, perfectly ignorant of what had happened; and as he stood amazed at the ghastly sight of his co-pupils, a curse and a boon fell upon him from his master's lips. For his fault of having left the place of instruction without the teacher's permission, poor Gauḍapāda was cursed by the great sage to become a Brahmarākshasa and to forget all he had learnt from his teacher's lips. But as he was the only pupil fortunately spared to propagate his Mahābhāshya, the sage blessed him to remember it so long as he was a Brahmarākshasa and

comforted him with the hope that he would regain his human form as soon as he had taught the whole of the Mahābhāshya that he had directly learnt from him to a competent pupil. Having said this, the great sage mysteriously disappeared ftom the earth, never to be seen again by mortal eyes.

Gauḍapāda accordingly left his native place and wandered long in Northern India in his strange form as a Brahmarākshasa and at last took his abode on a big banian tree on the way to Ujjain to find out a competent pupil. On one-day it so chanced that Chandra Śarman, a learned Brāhmaṇa of Prāchyadeśa who was all along anxious to learn the Mahābhāshya, passed by that tree when he was found out by the Brahmarākshasa to be a competent pupil and the whole of the Mahābhāshya was taught to him from day to day by Gauḍapāda, exactly as he had learnt it from Patañjali ; and the eager pupil carefully reduced them all to writing by engrossing them, then and there, on banian leaves. Lo, no sooner had Gauḍapāda completely taught the Mahābhāshya to Chandra Śarman, than he was freed from the curse by regaining his human form ! But his head became perfectly blank so far as the Mahābhāshya was concerned and he could not remember one word of what he had learnt from Patañjali at Puṇḍarīkapura along with his 999 co-pupils. Having blessed the young Brāhman from the East and ordaining him to propagate the Mahābhāshya in the world, Gauḍapāda went forth in search of a Guru to secure his spiritual happiness. He wended his way into the extreme north of India among the Himālayas, and became a disciple of Śuka Yogīndra, son of Bādarāyaṇa at Badarikāśrama. There he learnt the Vedānta Sūtras from his Guru and Paramaguru, with whom he spent the

remaining portion of his life-time as a Sannyāsin of the order of Paramahamsa Parivrājakāchārya, refuting with the Buddhists and Jains and teaching his Advaita interpretations of the Vedānta to his numerous disciples who resorted to him for instruction. As he came from the Draviḍa country, he was generally known in the North under the name of Draviḍāchārya. He is said to have written[34] commentaries on several important works relating to Hindu Philosophy, especially on the Vedānta wherein he was considered to be the

[33] Gauḍapâda or Drāviḍāchārya as he was better known in the North, is said to have written a prose commentary on the Sāṅkhya-Kārikās of Iśvara Kṛishṇa and the Yoga-Sutras of the Patañjali, his former master. Although the former work has been several times published with various glosses and translations in various parts of India, nothing is yet known of the latter work. It is said that he wrote these two commentaries with a view to reconcile the Sāṅkhya and the Yoga with the Vedānta.

Gauḍapāda has also written a commentary on Anugītā, and Uttaragītā, portions from the Mahābhārata, but only the latter work has been recently published in the Srīraṅgam Sanskrit Series. Ever since his time, these two works came to be considered as supplements to Bhagavadgītā, and are looked upon as equally authoritative with the latter work.

It is also certain that Gauḍapāda had written a commentary on the Chhândogya Upanishad—one of the most important scriptures on which the Advaitic doctrine of the Vedānta Philosophy is based—inasmuch as Śaṅkara refers to the same in his Bhāshya on the said Upanishad. [Vide his Avataraṇikā (Preface) as well as his Bhâshya (Commentary) on the 1st verse of the 8th Khaṇḍa of the third Prapāṭhaka of the Chhāndogyopanishad.]

Gauḍapâda is also said to have written Kārikās or poetical commentaries on Mâṇḍûkyopanishad, Nṛisihmatāpanīyopanishad and Vedānta Sûtras. Although we have complete copies of the first two Kāṛikas, we have not as yet come across a complete copy of his Kārikās on the Vedānta Sūtras. Śaṅkara frequently refers to his

greatest authority by all his contemporaries. Even in Sāñkhya Philosophy Gauḍapāda was considered such a great authority by his contemporaries like Praśastapāḍāchārya and Udyotakarāchārya that his commentary on Iśvara-kṛishna's Sāṇkhyakārikā was selected and translated into Chinese so early as the reign of the Chang Dynasty.

The chief among the disciples of, and one in regular succession of Vedāntic teachers from Gauḍapādāchārya was Govinda Yogin. This Govinda Yogin or Govinda Bhagavatpāda as Śankara uniformly calls him in his works was no other person than Chandra Śarman or Chandrā-

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Kārikas on the Vedānta Sūtras and quotes them with approval. Take for instance the following Kārikas or explanatory verses.

"गौण मिथ्यात्मनोऽसत्वे पुत्रदेहादिबाधनात् ।
सद्ब्रह्मात्माहमित्येवं बोधे कार्यं कथं भवेत् ।।
अन्वेष्टव्यात्मविज्ञानात् प्राक्प्रमातृत्व मात्मनः ।
अन्विष्टः स्थात्प्रमातैव पाप्मदोषादिवर्जितः ।।
देहात्मप्रत्ययो यद्वत् प्रमाणत्वेन कल्पितः ।
लौकिकं तद्वदेवेदं प्रमाणं त्वात्मनिश्चयात् ।।"

and these are quoted by Śankara in his commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras at the end of the fourth Sūtra of the first Pāda of the first Adhyāya, and these verses are cited by him as if from his Āchārya in support of his view that when there has arisen in a man's mind a knowledge that 'I am Brahman' the apparent world with all its distinctions ceases to have any meaning for him. Śankara, no doubt, does not mention the author by name. Wherever he refers to Gauḍapâdâ-chārya or to his commentaries on the Upanishads and the Vedānta Sūtras he does so by calling him 'Āchāryā', apparently to show the great respect he had for him as his Paramaguru. It is only Ānandagiri that explains the term Āchārya in these passages as meaning Draviḍā-chārya. The following two stanzas by which he concludes his

chārya, the renowned grammarian who is said to have had the special fortune of preserving to the world Patañjali's Mahābhāshya on Pāṇini's Ashṭādhyāyi, as amplified by Kātyāyana's Vārtika, as we possess it at present. The traditions current in different part of India as well as the written accounts that are recorded in Patañjali-Vijaya,

commentary on Gauḍapâda's Māṇḍūkyopanishad Kârikâs, show the great amount of respect and reverence that Sankara had for his Paramaguru. They run as follows:—

"प्रज्ञावैशाखवेधक्षुभितजलनिधे वेंदनाम्नोऽन्तरस्थं
भूता न्यालोक्य मग्ना न्यविरतजननग्राहघोरे समुद्रे ।
कारुण्यादुद्धारामृत मिद ममरै र्दुर्लभं भूतहेतो
र्यं स्त पूज्याभिपूज्यं परमगुरु ममुं पादपातै र्नतोऽस्मि ॥
यत्प्रज्ञाल्लोकभासा प्रतिहृति मगमत् स्वान्तमोहान्धकारो
मज्जोन्मज्ज च्च घोरे ह्यसकृ दुपजनोदन्वति त्रासने मे ।
यत्पादा वाश्रितानां श्रुतिशमविनयप्राप्ति रग्र्या ह्यमोघा
तत्पादौ पावनीयौ भवभयविनुदौ सर्वभावै र्नमस्ये ॥"

Even here Sankara does not mention his Paramâchârya (Teacher's teacher) by name. Rai Bahadur Lala Baij Nath, in his admirable work on Hinduism, refers to these Kârikâs on the Vedânta Sūtras and ascribes them to Draviḍâchârya. Until recently nothing definite was known about Gauḍapâda's Kârikâs on the Vedânta Sūtras, and people thought that the Draviḍâchârya to whom this work is ascribed was even different from Gauḍapâdacharya. Fortunately these verses are found in the manuscript copy of the Kârikâs on the Vedânta Sūtras ascribed to Draviḍâchārya at present kept in the library of his Holiness, the present Srî Sankarâchârya of Dvârakâ, and from this copy, though an incomplete one, it is clear that Gauḍapâda himself, the Guru of Govinda Bhagavatpâda, and the Paramaguru of Sankara, was known under the name of Drâviḍâchârya. Pandit Vindhyesvara Prasâda Dvivedi in his preface to Vedanta Pârijâta Saurabha, a

Gaudapadollāsa, and Harimiśriya, inform us that he was a learned Brāhmaṇa of Prāchyadeśa, that he was well-versed in the Vaidika and Laukika literatures of his day, that he had the special fortune of learning the Mahābhāshya from Gauḍapādāchārya, one of the direct disciples of the great sage Patanjali, that he settled at Ujjain and married four wives, one from each of the four castes, and became the father of four sons who all became renowned in Indian Literature under the names of [34] Bhartṛihari,

Vaishṇavite commentary on the Vedânta Sutras by Śrî Nimbârkâcharya, recently published at Benares in the Chaukâmbâ Sanskrit Series, refers to the existence of the Kârikâs on the Vedânta Sūtras by Gauḍapâdâchârya tn the following terms: "गौडपादीति प्रसिद्धं कारिकाबद्धं गौडपादाचार्यकृतं शारीरकसूत्रभाष्यमपि शङ्करभाष्यात् पुरतनं वर्तते । नै न च्चित्रं माण्डूक्योपनिषदो गौडपादाचार्यैः कृताः कारिकाः शङ्कराचार्या व्याख्यातवन्त इति ।" It is further clear from this that his Kârikâs on the Vedânta Sūtras went under the name of "Gauḍapâdi." No doubt the adherents of Râmânuja's School of Vedânta Philosophy would have us believe that this Vârtika on the Vedânta Sūtras and the Bhâshya on the Chhândogyopanishad referred to by Śaṅkara in his Bhâshya on the said works are the productions of a Draviḍian Saint or Alwar who followed the doctrine of the Viśishṭâdvaitic school of Vedanta Philosophy in opposition to the Advaita school proclaimed by Śaṅkara; but we shall show in dealing with Internal Evidence on Śaṅkara's Age how absurd and unwarranted this assumption is.

[34] Bhartṛihari or Bhartṛiprapañcha as he was generally known in his later Āśrama, was the eldest son of Govinda Bhagavatpâda by his Brâhman wife. He is said to have ruled the kingdom of Ujjain for some time, as being the eldest son of his father: but being disgusted with the unchastity of his beloved queen, he soon resigned the kingdom in favour of his valarous brother Śri Harsha Vikramâditya, born to his father by his Kshatriya wife. He thereupon became a Sannyâsin and lived with his aged father as one of his constant

[35]Vikramāditya, Bhaṭṭi and [36] Vararuchi, that he thought the

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chelas. Srî Sadâśiva Brahmendra refers to Bhartṛihari in his Jagadguru-Ratnamâla in the following terms :

प्रभवात् परमार्थसङ्ग्रहाच्च प्रणयस्थान ममुष्य सिद्धशिष्यः ।
विरतक्षितिरक्षणो विरक्त्या हरि रहो मम तं हतां स्वशक्त्या ॥

It is clear from this that his proper name was Hari, and Bhartṛi was merely a title like 'His Majesty.' So it is that Kayyata speaks of the commentary, called Sâra on the Mahâbhâshya as the work of Hari (Vide 'तथापि हरिबद्धेन' etc., in Kayyaṭa's Mahâbhâshya-Pradipa). He is said to have written commentaries on the Upanishads, the Vedânta Sûtras and the Bhagavadgîtâ, and he was no doubt a very famous writer as he is quoted by several Viśishtâdvaitic writers as well. From Sankara's commentary and Ânandagiri's gloss on the Brihadâraṇyakopanishad of the Kâṇvaśâkhâ, it is certâin that Bhartṛihari must have written a commentary on the same Upanishad as presented in the Mâdhyandina Sâkhâ. It is a pity that nothing is known of his commentaries on the Prasthânatraya. Vâkyapadîya, his famous work on grammar in the form of Kârikâs is still held in high estimation by all scholars and has been commented upon by Helârâja and Punjarâja. Besides these works, Bhartṛihari is also said to have written his famous Subhâshita-Ratnâvalî, consisting of the three Śatakas on Śriṇgâra, Nîti and Vairâgya, which are still read with admiration by every Sanskrit student in India.

[35] This is the account that is given in Patañjali Vijaya, Gauḍapadollasa and Harimiśriya ; though in the first work Bhartṛihari is given as the son of Chandra Sarman by his Śûdra wife, and Vararuchi is substituted in his place ; the last work makes both Bhartṛihari and Vikramâditya, the sons of Chandra Śarman by his Kshatriya wife, and adds Bhâravi as the son of the Śûdra wife. Pandit Appâ Śâstri Vidyâvâchaspati makes them all sons of Śabarasvâmin the author of the Pûrva-mîmâmsâ-Bhâshya, on the authority of a stanza quoted in his preface to Mâlavikâgnimitra from Vaṇgîya Prabandhas, whose authority seems to be very questionable. The stanza runs a follows :—

"ब्राह्मण्या मभव द्वराहमिहिरो ज्योतिर्विदा मग्रणीः
राजा भर्तृहरिश्च विक्रमनृपः क्षत्रात्मजाया मभूत् ॥

Mahābhāshya[37] as we have it at present to his numerous disciples who propagated the same in the world, that he was afterwards initiated into the mysteries of the Vedānta Philo-

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वैश्यायां हरिचन्द्रवैद्यतिलको जातश्च शङ्कुः कृती
शूद्राया ममरः षडेव शबरस्वामिद्विजस्यात्मजाः ॥"

This is merely an attempt on the part of some modern writer to connect the "Nine Gems" of Vikrama's Court; but it is clearly opposed to all the facts known about these persons. Sadâśiva Brahmendra distinctly says that Govinda Yogin or Jayagovinda Muni as he calls him is no other person than Chandra Śarman. (Vide his Gururatnamâlâ, St. 11.) The learned scholar also seems to think that the Vikramâditya referred to in the said stanza is the Vikramârka of the Mâlava Era of 57 B. C; but as we have already shown, it refers to Śriharsha Vikramaditya, the Emperor of Ujjain referred to in Râja-Taranginį and other works as the patron of Mâtṛigupta and who according to Chitsukhâchârya's Śaṅkara Vijaya was a contemporary of Śaṅkara.

[36] Vararuchi referred to here is not the same person as Kâtyâyana or Vararuchi, the author of the Vyâkaraṇa Vârtikas, who was a contemporary of Pâṇini, the author of the Ashṭâdhyâyi. According to Kathâsaritsâgara, Pâṇini, Vararuchi, Vyâḍi and Indradatta were all co-pupils and disciples of Varshâchârya The Vararuchi referred to here is probably the author of the Prakṛita-Prakâśika and other works.

[37] The Mahâbhâshya that we have at present is not a complete commentary. It has not got the Upasamhâra (the concluding portion) as the same was not heard by Gauḍapâda; and certain portions even in the middle of the work are left out blank with star marks, as some of the leaves on which the Mahâbhâshya is said to have been recorded by ChandraŚarman were partially eaten away by a goat (अज), which portions still go under the name of *Aja-bhakshitas.* Compare:

"वटद्रुपर्णस्थितवर्णमेलना दथैष भाष्यं निखिलं पतञ्जलेः ।
लिलेख वत्सक्षतदुर्ग्रहाक्षरे स्थले क्वचि त्कुण्डलना मकल्पयत् ॥"

(Patañjali-Vijaya, VI. 26.)

sophy by that very great scholar[38] Śri Gauḍapādāchārya, who had become the disciple of Śri Śuka Yogindra, son of Śri Bādarāyana, the founder of the Vedānta School of Philosophy, that he thereupon renounced the world and became a Sannyāsin of the order of Paramahamsa Parivrājakācharya initiated by his Paramaguru under the name of [39] Govinda Muni and that he lived partly at Badarikāśrama on the Himālayas, where his teacher, great teacher and great-great teacher lived, learning the Vedānta from their lips, and partly at Amarakānta on the bank of the Narmada near Ujjain teaching the Vedānta to his disciples in turn.

It was to this great teacher Śri Govinda Yogin that Sañkara was ordained to go to get himself formally initiated into Sannyāsa which he had already practically assumed at Kālati when he emerged from the river Chūrṇi with his famous[40] Nirvāna-Pañchaka. Though not such a great

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[38] Compare the following stanzas :—

"पठिते पतञ्जलिनिबन्धने द्विजः कृतदारकर्मणि च पुत्रमण्डले ।
शुकशिष्यगौडपदगुर्वनुग्रहा ञ्चरमाश्रामं सुरनदींच शिश्रिये ।।
३२ ।।
सुरसिन्धुरोधसि गिरीशसन्निधा वतिनीय तत्र कियतोऽप्यनेहसः ।
विरहासहै रनुगतः स योगिभिः परिपावनं बदरिकाश्रमं ययौ ।।
६७ ।।"

(Patañjali-Vijaya, Sarga VII).

[39] A'nandagiri, in his Prâchîna Sankara Vijaya explains the origin of the name as follows :

"सततं निगद नसेन योसौ 'जय गोविन्द जये' ति सूक्तिमेकाम् ।
श्रितमौन मभू द्यदन्यवादे जयगोविन्दमुनि तदाहु रेनम् ।।

[40] Nirvâṇa-Pañchaka, also known as Ātma-Pañchaka, Advaita-Pañchaka, Pañcharatna, and Pañcharatnamâlikâ is a collection of five stanzas in which Sañkara has expounded the indentity of the soul

scholar and writer as his Guru (Śri Gaudapādāchārya), Govinda Bhagavatpāda was like his Paramaguru (Śri Śuka Yogindra) a born Siddha and a great Yogin. Besides the Mahābhāshya which he said to have reproduced in its present shape, only three other works—[41] Yoga-Tāravali, [42] Advai-

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with Brahman by differentiating it from all other things than the Brahman, which are generally mistaken for the soul. It begins with:

"नाहं देहो नेन्द्रियाण्यन्तरङ्गं नाहङ्कारः प्राणवर्गो न बुद्धिः ।
दारापत्यक्षेत्रवित्तादिदूरः साक्षी नित्यः प्रत्यगात्मा शिवोऽहम् ।।"

It is published in Telugu and Nāgari characters and is available with translation in English and vernaculars. It is printed in Nâgari character with a Sanskrit commentary called Nirvâṇa-Pañchaka-Vivṛiti written by Śrî Svâmi Nityânanda Sarasvati. It is also available with two other unpublished commentaries respectively known as Pañcharatnamâlikâ-Kalpavallî and Pañcharatna-Didhiti.

[41] Yoga-Târâvalî is a small treatise on Râja-Yoga consisting of 29 stanzas beginning with:

"वन्दे गुरूणां चरणारविन्दे सन्दर्शितस्वात्मसुखावबोधे ।
निःश्रेयसे जाङ्गलिकायमाने संसारहालाहलमोहशान्त्यै ।।"

It is also known as Râja-Yoga-Târâvalî and Râja-Yoga-Sâra. It has been printed by the Mysore Government with an Index (अनुक्रमणिका) and it is also available in Nâgari character with the Bhâshâ-Tîkā of Bhūmānandaji. In the former it is ascribed to Govinda Bhagavatpâda, but in the latter it is ascribed to Śaṅkara himself. We accept the former view inasmuch as Śaṅkara, according to Chitsukhāchârya, is said to have written a commentary based on the said work under the name of Rāja-Yoga-Bhâshya.

[42] Advaitânubhûti also known as Avadhūta Gîtā sets forth the chief principles of the Advaita Philosophy in 48 stanzas beginning with:

"अह मानन्दसत्यादिलक्षणः केवलः शिवः ।
अनानन्दादिरूपं यत् तन्नाह मचलोऽद्वयः ।।"

tānubhūti and [48] *Brahmāmrita-Varshiṇi*—are ascribed to him, but even these three works are sometimes ascribed to Śañkara himself. Ordained by Lord Nārāyana, the chief Deity at Badarikāśrama, who is likewise said to have appeared to Govinda Bhagavatpāda in one of his Yogic visions and ordered by Gauḍapāda, his own Guru, he went out in search of Śañkara and was waiting for his arrival in his own hermitage on the bank of the Narmada. Śañkara, after wandering for nearly a year in search of his appointed Guru, arrived with his co-student and disciple Vishnu Śarman on the

It is said to have been composed by Govinda Bhagavatpada in imitation of Śaṅkara's Vakya-Vṛitti. In fact the two benedictory stanzas "सर्गस्थितिप्रलयहेतु etc." and "यस्यप्रसादादहमेव विष्णु: etc." are found added at the beginning of each of these works. It is published at Haridvar in Nagari character with a Bhasha-Tîka by Pandit Hari Śaṅkarji Śastrin.

[48] Brahmamṛita-Varshiṇi is an excellent work on Vedanta Philosophy consisting of about 3000 Granthas bristling with quotations from Upanishads and various other ancient authorities interspersed with original stanzas. Though the work begins with quotations from Upanishads such as "ओं शन्नोमित्र: शं वरुण:" etc. the book actually commences with the following stanzas:

"सत्यं हेतुविवर्जितं श्रुतिगिरा माद्यं जगत्कारणं
व्याप्तस्थावरजङ्गमं निरुपमं चैतन्य मन्तर्गतम् ।
आत्मानं रविचन्द्रवह्निवपुषं तारात्मकं सन्ततं
नित्यानन्दगुणालयं सुकृतिन: पश्यन्ति रुद्धेन्द्रिया: ।।
अल्पेभ्यश्च महद्भ्यश्च ग्रन्थेभ्यो मतिमा न्नर: ।
सर्वत: सार मादद्यात् पुष्पेभ्य इव षट्पद: ।।

It is said by Chitsukhacharya to have been compiled by Śaṅkara himself, from the teachings of his Guru, Śrî Govinda Bhagavatpada. Though not yet printed, complete copy of the work is available in several libraries in manuscripts.

bank of the Narmadā, and met Śri Govinda Yogin[44], by a happy coincidence, in his own hermitage, surrounded by his illustrious son Bhartṛihari and his disciples. Both the teacher and the pupil had their eyes filled with tears of joy at this unlooked-for meeting; and they rejoiced at the respective commands that thus brought them together. Śañkara gladly chose Govinda Yogin as his holy teacher, and the latter was most happy to accept the former as his worthy pupil. Though the teacher felt himself inferior to the pupil, yet Govinda Bhagavatpāda obeyed the Lord's command by making Śaṅkara go through the formalities needed for becoming a full ascetic (Krama-Sannyāsin.) In this way, we are told by Chitsukhāchārya, Śaṅkara sat at the feet of his holy master for nearly two years and learnt from him almost all[45]

[44] In his Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya, Chitsukha informs us that Śaṅkara took the permission of his mother to become a Sannyasin on the 11th day of the bright-half of the month of Kartika of the year 2639 of the Yudhishthira Śaka (corresponding to 500 B. C.), and was ordained as a regular Sannyasin by Govinda Bhagavatpada on the 2nd day of the bright-half of the month of Phalguna of the year 2640 of the Yudhishṭhira Śaka (corresponding to 499 B.C). So Śaṅkara became a full Sannyasin in his tenth year, and under the guidance of Govinda Bhagavatpada and his worthy son Bhartṛihari, he became master of all the Śastras before he completed his twelfth year. It is said that Śaṅkara had very great reverence for Bhartṛihari or Bhartṛiprapancha as he calls him and it was in emulation of him and at his inducement that Śaṅkara wrote many of his minor works and commentaries.

[45] The following oft-quoted stanza :

"अष्टवर्षे चतुर्वेदी द्वादशे सर्वशास्त्रवित् ।
षोडशे कृतवान्भाष्यं द्वात्रिंशे मुनि रम्यगात् ॥

clearly shows how extraordinarily intelligent and active Śaṅkara was throughout his life. According to this, Śaṅkara learnt all the Vedas by the eighth year of his age, and completed his study of the Śastras in the house and under the guidance of his teacher before he completed his

the important works on the Vedānta and other philosophies current in his days. It was at this period that Śaṅkara composed his Narmadāshṭaka[46] and many of his minor poems and Prakaraṇas such as Prātas-Smaraṇa,[47] Sādhana-Pañchaka,[48]

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twelfth year. There will be nothing strange in this when we remember how remarkable the life of some of the modern English poets had been even in these degenerate days.

[46] Narmadāshṭaka is a collection of 8 stanzas said to have been composed by Śaṅkara on his first visit to Narmada in praise of the said river. It begins with:

" सबिन्दुसिन्धुसुस्खलत्तरङ्गभङ्गरञ्जितं,
द्विवत्सु पापजातजातकारिवारिसंयुतम् ।
कृतान्तदूतकालभूतभीतिहारि वर्मदे,
त्वदीयपादपङ्कजं नमामि देवि नर्मदे ॥"

[47] Prâtas-Smaraṇa is a small poem consisting of 3 stanzas briefly explaining the nature of one's own soul and its relation with the Supreme Brahman. It begin with :

" प्रातः स्मरामि हृदिसंस्फुरदात्मतत्वं,
सच्चित्सुखं परमहंसगतिं तुरीयम् ।
यत्स्वप्रजागरसुषुप्त मवैति नित्यं,
तद् ब्रह्म निष्कल महं न च भूतसङ्घः ॥"

and is available in Nagari and Telugu characters.

[48] Sâdhana-Pañchaka or Sopâna-Pañchaka as it is sometimes called is a collection of 5 stanzas setting forth briefly the several means of attaining self-realization. It begins with :

" वेदो नित्य मधीयतां, तदुदितं कर्म स्वनुष्ठीयतां,
तेनेशस्य विधीयता मपचितिः, काम्ये मति स्त्यज्यताम् ।
पापौघः परिधूयतां, भवसुखे दोषोऽनुसन्धीयतां,
आत्मेच्छा व्यवसीयतां, निजगृहा त्तूर्णं विनिर्गम्यताम् ॥"

In the Telugu edition, it is known as "Sādhana-Pañcha-Ratna-Mālikā."

Yati-Pañchaka,[49] [50]VākyaVṛitti, [51]Viveka-Chūḍāmaṇi, [52]Daśa-

[49] Yati-Pañchaka or Kaupîna-Pañchaka as it is sometimes called, is a collection of 5 stanzas explaining the object and duties of a Sannyāsin. It begins with:

"वेदान्तवाक्येषु सदारमन्तो, भिक्षान्नमात्रेण च तुष्ठिमन्तः ।
विशोक मन्तःकरणे रमन्तः, कौपीनवन्तः खलु भाग्यवन्तः ।।"

[50] Vākya-Vṛitti or Svatmaprakāśikā as it is sometimes known, is a short exposition by Śaṅkara of the leading principles of the Advaita Philosophy in the form of a discourse given by a preceptor to a pupil. It is similar to Advaitānubhūti composed by his Guru, and consists of 51 stanzas excluding the two benedictory verses. It properly begins with:

"तापत्रयार्कसन्तप्तः कश्चि दुद्विग्नमानसः ।
शमादिसाधनै र्युक्तः सद्गुरुं परिपृच्छति ।।"

There is a commentary on this Prakaraṇa called Vākya-Vṛitti-Prakāśikā, said to have been written by Viśveśvara Paṇḍita, a disciple of Mādhava-prājñaguru.

[51] Viveka-Chūḍāmaṇi or Ātmānātma-Viveka-Chūḍāmani-Prakaraṇa as it is more fully styled, is a popular treatise on Vedānta Philosophy consisting of 582 stanzas. It begins with:

"सर्ववेदान्तसिद्धान्तगोचरं तम गोचरम् ।
गोविन्दं परमानन्दं सद्गुरुं प्रणतोऽस्म्यहम् ।।"

and the expression "Govinda" in this poem is said to refer to Śaṅkara's own Guru, which we may well take as a proof of the great esteem that Śaṅkara had for his teacher and of his sincere desire to express his great obligations to his Guru in writing this treatise.

[52] Daśa-Ślokî or Nirvāṇa-Daśaka or Sîddhānta-Bindu is a collection of 10 stanzas explaining the nature of the Ātman or Soul by the process of elimination. It begins with:

"नभूमि र्नतोयं न तेजो न वायु,
र्नखं नेन्द्रियं वा न तेषां समूहः ।

Śloki, [53]Ātmanātma-Viveka, Māyā-Vivaraṇa,[54] Ekādaśotta-

अनैकान्तिकत्वा त्सुषुप्त्येकसिद्ध
स्तदेकोऽवशिष्टः शिवः केवलोऽहम् ॥"

There is a commentary on the same by Madhusūdana Sarasvati called Siddhānta-Tatva-Bindu upon which there is again a gloss called Nyāya Ratnāvalī by Brahmānanda Svāmi. The Kumbakonam Edition contains all these commentaries.

[53] Ātmanātma-Viveka is a prose-work on Advaita Philosophy investigating into the nature of the difference between Soul and Matter and is said to embody the substance of the questions and answers put to and given by Bhartṛiprapañcha and Saṇkara respectively at their teacher's hermitage on the bank of the Narmadā. It begins with: "आत्मानात्मविवेक : कथ्यते—आत्मनः किं निमित्तं दुःखम् ? शरीरपरिग्रहनिमित्तं दुःखम्, "आत्मना सह वैशरीरस्य सतः प्रियाप्रिययो रपहती" ति श्रुते : । The work is available with translation.

[54] Māyā-Vivaraṇā is a dissertation in prose explaining the doctrine of Māyā peculiar to the Advaita Philosophy. The object of the work is explained by Śaṅkara himself in his introductory verse which runs as follows :—

"बालाना मुपकाराय ममापि ज्ञानसिद्धये ।
तत्र श्रीबालगोपालकृष्णः सन्निहितो भवेत् ॥"

It consists of 5 Varṇakas or parts respectively known as

(1) Adhyāropāpavāda-Nirūpaṇa,
(2) Anubandhachatushṭaya-Nirūpaṇa,
(3) Prapañchavimarśana- Nirūpaṇa,
(4) Duh'khādivichāra-Nirûpaṇa, and
(5) Kartṛitvakārayitṛitvavimarśana-Nirūpaṇa.

Chitsukhāchārya calls this work 'Vedānta-Pañcha-Prakaranī' and says that this was composed by Śaṅkara at Kālaṭi, just before he took the permission of his mother to become a Sannyāsin. The work actually begins with: "इह खलु धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां चतुर्विधपुरुषार्थानां

raśata-Vākya-Grantha,[55]Panchîkarana (Pranava-Bhāshya),[56]

मध्ये मोक्ष एव परमपुरुषार्थः; नित्यत्वात्, "न च पुनरावर्तत" इति श्रुतेः। etc.

[55] Ekâdaśottaraśatavākya-Grantha, as the name itself indicates, gives in 111 benedictory sentences the substance of the Upanishadic ideas bearing on the Advaita Philosophy as explained by his co-student and friend Bhartṛihari in his commentaries on the Upanishads. It begins with: "शरीरत्रयव्यतिरिक्तावस्थात्रयातीतनित्यनिर्विकारासङ्गस्वप्रकाशापरोक्षनित्यमुक्तसर्वान्तर सच्चिदानन्दसर्वगतपरिपूर्णापरिच्छिन्नाऽद्वितीयशुद्धप्रत्यगात्मानुभवः सम्यग् भूयात्" This and the previous work are still available only in manuscripts.

[56] Pañchikaraṇa is a small treatise in prose explaining the process by which the elements undergo combination in the formation of gross bodies. It begins with: "अथातः परमहंसपरिव्राजकानां समासविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः—सच्छब्दवाच्य मविद्याशबलं ब्रह्म। ब्रह्मणोऽव्यक्तम्। अव्यक्तान्महत्। महतोऽहङ्कारः। अहङ्कारात्पञ्चतन्मात्राणि। पञ्चतन्मात्रेभ्यः पञ्चमहाभूतानि। पञ्चमहाभूतेभ्योऽखिलंजगत्। etc. The work ends with the following famous stanza:

"ब्रह्म सत्यं, जग न्मिथ्या, जीवो ब्रह्मैव नाऽपरः।
इति यस्य दृढा बुद्धिः स मुक्तो नाऽत्रसंशयः॥"

In some manuscripts, this work is known under the name of Praṇava-Bhāshya. It has been published at Bombay in Nāgari character with the Vārtika of Sureśvarāchārya, called Pañchîkaraṇa-Vārtika or Praṇava-Bhāshya-Vārtika, the Vivaraṇa of Ānandajñāna, disciple of Śuddhānanda, more generally known as Ānandagiri, called Pañchîkaraṇa-Vivaraṇa, and the Tîkā of Rama Tirtha, called Chandrikā. There is also a gloss on Pañchîkaraṇa-Vārtika by Abhinava Nārāyaṇendra Sarasvatî called Pañchîkaraṇa-Vārtikābharaṇa, but it is stil unpublished.

Bala-Bodhini[57] and Raja-Yoga-Bhāshya.[58]

[57] Bala-Bodhinī is a small work in prose explaining the Pañcha-Kośas or the five sheaths of the body according to the Advaitic interpretations. It is available only in manuscripts and begins with:

"प्रणम्य परमानन्दं मोहान्धतिमिरापहम् ।
तत्प्रसादबलेनैव क्रियते बालबोधिनी ॥
यस्य स्मरणमात्रेण क्षीयन्ते भवभीतयः ।
तं सर्वसाक्षिणं यामि शरणं कृपणोऽप्यहम् ॥

हरिः ओम् । अथात्मा कादृशः? सद्रूप सर्वदाभावरूपम् । चिद्रूपं, विशुद्धबोधरूपम् । आनन्द सुखरूपम् । सत्यमबाधितम् । नित्यं कालत्रयावस्थायि । कूटस्थ मविकारि । अस्थूलादिगुणवत् प्रत्यक्बोधैकरूपं, आदिमध्यान्तरहितमेव आत्मवस्तु ।" etc. The colophon at the end runs as follows: इतिश्रीमच्छङ्कराचार्यविरचिता यांबलाबोधिन्यां पञ्चकोशविवेकप्रकरणं संपूर्णम् ।"

This is not to be confounded with Bâla-Bodha-Saṅgraha which Śaṅkara is said to have composed at Kâlaṭi, while he was still studying in his Gurukula. That is also a prose work on the chief principles of Adhyâtmavidyā, but is quite distinct from Bâla-Bodhinī. It is a much larger work and begins with: "ओम् अध्यात्मविद्याप्रबोधप्रकारं व्याख्यास्यामः । अधिभौतिकाधिदैविकाध्यात्मिकादितापत्रयाग्निसन्तप्तः सकलसाधनोपत्ते, संसारा द्विरज्य शिष्यः सद्गुरुं शरणं गत्वा, साष्टाङ्गं प्रणिपत्य, विज्ञापनं करोति । 'भो स्वामिन्! मम संसार निवृत्तिकुरु' इति । गुरु रुवाच-'अरे शिष्य! तव संसारनिवृत्ति ज्ञनेन भवितव्या ।" etc. The colophon at the end runs as follows: "इति श्रीशङ्कराचार्य कृतो बालबोधसङ्ग्रहः समाप्तः ।" This work also is still available only in manuscripts.

[58] Rāja-Yoga-Bhāshya, more often known as Vijṛimbhita-Yoga-sūtra-Bhāshya is generally supposed to be a commentary on Rāja-Yoga-Sāra or Yoga-Tārāvalī of Govinda Bhagavatpāda. As is the case with his Praṇava-Bhāshya, this work also is an independent treatise. It may,

Among the various works taught to Śaṅkara by his Guru, none impressed him so much as the Kārikās of Śri Gaudapādācharya ; he found in them, in a nut-shell as it were, the principles of Vedānta Philosophy which he afterwards so ably and elaborately worked out into his own Advaita Darśana and he at once expressed his desire to see

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no doubt, bring out the substance of his Guru's Yoga-Tārāvali, but is certainly not a commentary on the said work in the strict sense of the term. The work begins with these words :

"एवं हठयोगलक्षण विस्तरेण निशम्य प्राकृत: सद्गुरु मेव मवादीत्, राजयोगं वद कृपयेति । स्तु विनयसद्वचनं गुरुभक्ताग्रगण्यं शिष्यं 'शृणु सावधानेने' त्यादरेणेद माह । राजयोग: राजोपयुक्तयोग:, तथोच्यते योगानां राजेतिवा राजयोग:; पूर्वोक्तयोगा देहप्रयासका:, अयंतु निरायासेन मोक्षरूपपुरुषार्थप्रद: ।" etc. The work ends as follows :—"तस्मात् संसारा न्निर्विण्ण: परमयोगं ब्रह्ममार्ग मवलंब्य मूलाधारस्थकुण्डलिनोसमुत्थितवायुं इडापिङ्गळासञ्चारं केवलमुत्क्रमेण सुषुम्नाबिलं प्रापय्य, तदुद्घाटितवैपुल्य स्तन्मार्गेण ब्रह्मविष्णुरुद्र ग्रन्थिभेदपुर:सरं आज्ञाविजृंभमाणाग्निसूर्यतेज:कूटरूपपापास्फोटनसहस्रदळायमानतेजो भूत्वा, तत्समीपविश्वव्योमा, अवाप्तपरिपूर्णचन्द्रमण्डलनिष्ठसान्द्रामृत निष्यन्दबिन्दुसन्दोहपानपरितृप्त: सदानन्दरूपनिश्चयं प्राप्य, नि:संशयतत्वाकाशो भूत्वा सदानन्दावधूतकृपालेशा न्मुक्तोऽस्मीति भावितव्य: ।। इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीगोविन्दभगवत्पादपूज्यशिष्यश्रीशङ्कराचार्यविरचितं विजृम्बित योगसूत्रभाष्यं संपूर्णम् ।।" As the work is still in manuscripts, we have quoted the introductory and concluding passages from which it will be clear that it is an independent treatise in prose on Rāja-Yoga. As the language is not yet quite settled, Raja-Yoga-Bhāshya must be one of the earliest productions of Śaṅkara belonging to this period. This work is not however specifically mentioned by Chitsukhāchārya as one of the works of Śaṅkara.

his Paramaguru and to request his permission to write an elaborate commentary on the same. Govind Bhagavatpāda was so much pleased with the suggession that he at once took his worthy pupil to his Guru, Sri, Gauḍapadāchārya at Badrikāsrama on the Himalayas. Śaṅkara was extremly delighted to see his Paramaguru who was then said to have been 120 years old, engaged in Brahmanishthā and simply waiting for the arrival of the young Praśishya who was to establish the Advaita Philosophy started by him and by his Guru. On being introduced by Govinda Bhagavatpādā, Śaṅkara went and prostrated himself before the feet of his Paramaguru and Gauḍapāda was most happy to welcome him as one of his own pupils in future and offered to teach him all he knew. Śaṅkara studied directly under Gauḍapāda for four years, composing may of his most important minor works on the Vedānta such as Shaṭpadi,[59] Hari-Stuti[60] Śata-

[59] Shaṭpadi is a Stotra in 6 stanzas in praise of Nārāyaṇa. It begins with.

"अविनय मपनय विष्णो दमय मनः शमय विषयमृगतृष्णाम् ।
भूतदयां विस्तारय तारय संसारसागरतः ।।"

This poem contains the followlng famous stanza, which shows clearly what was Śaṅkara's Philosophy and Religion for all practical purposes, The stanza runs as follows:

"सत्यपि भेदापगमे नाथ तवाहं न मामकीन स्त्वम् ।
सामुद्रो हि तरङ्गः, क्वचन समुद्रो न तारङ्गः ।।

The concluding stanza, which is given as the 7th stanza runs as follows:

"नारायण करुणामय शरणं करवाणि तावकौ चरणौ ।
इति षट्पदी मदीये वदनसरोजे सदा वसतु ।।"

[60] Hari-Stuti more generally known as Harim-Iḍe-Stotra from the concluding words occurring in every stanza, is a beautiful poem in 43 verses beginning with:

Śloki[61] (Vedânta-Kesari), Svātma-Nirupana,[62] Paramārtha-

"स्तोष्ये भक्त्या विष्णु मनादिं जगदादिं,
यस्मिन्नेतत् संसृतिचक्रं भ्रमतीत्थम् ।
यस्मिन् दृष्टे नश्यति तत्संसृतिचक्रं तं
ससारध्वान्तविनाशं हरिं मीडे ।।"

The 44th stanza which concludes the work runs as follows :

"इत्थं स्तोत्रं भक्तजनेड्यं भवभीति-
ध्वान्तार्काभं भगवत्पादीय मिदं यः ।
विष्णोर्लोकं पठति श्रृणोति व्रजतिज्ञो
ज्ञानं ज्ञेयं स्वात्मनिचाप्नोति मनुष्यः ।।"

It is available in Nāgari character with the commentary of Svayam-prakâśa Yati called Hari-Tatva-Muktâvalī.

[61] Sata-Slokī as the name itself indicates consists of 100 stanzas. It is one of the most beautiful Vedântic poems written by Śaṅkara at Badarikâśrama, where his devotion to Nârâyaṇa was unbounded. It is also known as Vedânta-Kesarī and begins as follows :

"दृष्टान्तो नैवदृष्ट स्त्रिभुवनजटरे सद्गुरो र्ज्ञानदातुः
स्पर्शश्चे त्तत्र कल्प्यः स नयति यदहो स्वर्णता मश्मसारम् ।
न स्पर्शत्वं तथापि श्रितचरणयुगे सद्गुरुः स्वीयशिष्ये
स्वीयं साम्यं विधत्ते भवति निरुपम स्तेन चालौकिकोऽपि ।।"

The concluding stanza runs as follows :—

"जातं मय्येव सर्वं पुनरपि मयि तत्संस्थितंचैव विश्वं
सर्वं मय्येव याति प्रतिलयमिति त द्ब्रह्म चैवाह मस्मि ।
यस्य स्मृत्याच यज्ञाद्यखिलशुभविधौ सुप्रयातीह कार्यं
न्यूनं संपूर्णतां वै त मह मतिमुदैवाच्युतं सन्नतोऽस्मि ।।"

It is printed with the commentary of Ānandagiri known as Sata-Ślokī-Bhâshya.

[62] Svâtma-Niruûpaṇa is a beautifvl Vedântic poem consisting of 156 stanzas in Āryâ metre beginning with :

Sāra Śaṅgraha[63] and Prauḍhānubhūti Prakarana.[64] On one of those days Śaṅkara obtained the desired permission

"श्रीगुरुचरणद्वन्द्वं वन्देऽहं मथितदु:सहद्वन्द्वम् ।
भ्रान्तिग्रहोपशान्तिं पांसुमयं यस्य भसित मातनुते ॥

It is printed at Bombay with the commentary of Sachchidānanda Sarasvati.

[63] Paramârtha-Sâra-Saṅgraha, also sometimes known as *Bodhārya* is a small beautiful poem in 33 stanzas in the Āryā metre pointing out that the salvation of the Soul does not depend upon the study of Prasthānatraya, but results solely through the realization of Brahman. It begins with:

"आत्मावबोधनपरा: कुणपशरीराभिमानपरितुष्टा: ।
वारिजबुद्बुदरक्षां मूढा: कुर्वन्ति लोहबन्धेन ॥ १ ॥
जल मिव मृगतृष्णायां, शुक्तौ रजतं, यथा फणी रज्वाम् ।
सत्य मिवाऽसत्य मिदं कल्पित माभाति मयि परानन्दे ॥ २ ॥

The following are some of the stanzas often quoted by the Vedāntins from this beautiful poem:

"दन्तिनि दारुविकारे, दारु तिरोभवति, सोऽपि तत्रैव ।
जगति तथा परमात्मा, परमात्मन्यपि जग त्तिरोधत्ते ॥ ५ ॥"
अस्ति स्वय मित्यस्मि न्नर्थे कस्यास्ति संशय: पुंस: ।
तत्राऽपि संशय श्चेत् संशयिता य: स एव भवसि त्वम् ॥ १४ ॥"

The poem is concluded by the following stanzas:—

"यन्नेत्यादिग्रन्थै रात्मा शक्यो मुमुक्षुभि र्ज्ञातुम् ।
प्रस्थानत्रयपठनं पर्वतखननेन मूषिकग्रहणम् ॥ ३२ ॥
ज्ञाते ब्रह्मणि चित्ते तिष्ठति तत्रैव चरति य: पश्चात् ।
पुन रपि तत्रैवास्ते निधिरिव नौस्तम्भकाक इति ॥ ३३ ॥"

It is a pity that this excellent poem has *not yet been published* in any of the characters, though it is completely available in manuscripts.

[64] Praudhānubhūti-Prakaraṇa is a grand Vedāntic poem in 17 stanzas on the model of Daśa-Ślokī. It begins with:

to write a commentary on his Paramaguru's Māṇḍūkyopanishad-Kārikās accordingly wrote his famous [65] Bhāshya on the same as if preparatory to his Bhāshyas on the Prasthāna-traya which he was soon ordained to write. Gauḍapāda was so much pleased with his Māṇḍūkyopanishad-Kārikā-Bhāshya that he requested him to write similar commentaries

" द्वैतं मय्यखिलं समुत्थित मिदं मिथ्यामनःकल्पितं
तोयं तोयविवर्जिते मरुतले भ्रान्त्यैव सिद्धं न हि ।
यद्येवं खलु दृश्य मेत दखिलं नाहं नवा त न्मम
प्रौढानन्दचिदेकसन्मयवपुः शुद्धोऽस्म्यखण्डोऽस्म्यहम् ।। "

The concluding stanza runs as follows :—

" स्वारस्यैकसुबोधचारुमनसे प्रोढानुभूति स्त्वयं
दातव्या न तु मोहदग्धकुधिये दुष्टान्तरङ्गाय च ।
येयं रम्यविटार्पितोत्तमशिरः प्राप्ता चकास्ति स्वयं
सा चे न्मर्कटहस्तदेशपतिता किं राजते केतकी ।। "

The work is still available only in manuscripts.

[65] The Bhāshya of Saṅkara on the Māṇḍūkyopanishad-Kārikās of Gauḍapāda forms as it were an introduction to his Bhāshyas on the Vedânta Prasthâna-Traya. The Kârikâs consist of 215 Anushṭubh verses divided into four Prakaraṇas or Chapters respectively headed Āgama-Prakaraṇa (Chapter on Scripture), Vaitathya-Prakaraṇa (Chapter on Illusion), Advaita-Prakaraṇa (Chapter on Monism) and Alâtaśânti-Prakaraṇa (Chapter on Quenching of the fire-brand). The Bhâshya begins with the following stanza :—

" प्रज्ञानांशुप्रतानैः स्थिरचरनिकरव्यपिभि र्व्याप्य लोकान्
भुक्तवा भोगान् स्थविष्ठान् पुनरपि धिषणोद्भासितान् कामजन्यान्।
पीत्वा सर्वान् विशेषान् स्वपिति मधुरभुङ् मायया भोजय न्नो
मायासंख्यातुरीयं पर ममृत मजं ब्रह्म य त्त न्नोऽस्मि ।। "

As is the case with his other Bhâshyas, there is also a gloss on Saṅkara's Mâṇḍūkyakârikâ-Bhashya by Ānandagiri. In the colophon at the end, the Bhâshya is described as Gauḍapâdîyâgama Sâstra Vivaraṇa.

on the Vedānta-Prasthāna-Traya and thereby to establish the supremacy of the Advaita School of Vedānta Philosophy in the world for all times to come.

It was during those four short years that Śaṅkara exhibited his marvellous and almost superhuman activity by composing his world-renowned Shodasa-Bhāṣyas or the Sixteen Commentaries on the Vedānta-Prasthāna-Traya. The exact order in which Śaṅkara wrote his Bhāshyas on the Prasthāna-Traya is not definitely known. It is however, clear from his works that he began to write his commentaries on the Smṛiti Prasthāna which he included in his time portions of the Mahābhārata, such as Bhagavad-Gītā, Uttara-Gītā, Anu-Gītā, Sanatsujâtīya and Vishṇu-Sahasranāma-Stotra. As Uttara-Gītā and Anu-Gītā had already been commented upon by his Paramaguru, Śaṅkara wrote his commentaries only on the remaining works of the Smṛiti-Prasthāna—Vishṇu-Sahasranāma-Stotra,[66] Sanatsujātiya [67]

[66] Vishṇu-Sahasranāma-Stotra is one of the most precious gems dug out of the mine of Mahābhārata, forming, as it does, the 149th Adhyāya of the Ānuśāsanika Parva of the Mahābhārata. It consists of 142 stanzas beginning with:

श्रीवैशम्पायन उवाच—

"श्रुत्वा धर्मा नशेषेण पावनानि च सर्वशः ।
युधिष्ठिरः शान्तनवं पुनरेवाभ्यभाषत ॥"

It is very likely that Vishṇu-Sahasranāma-Bhāshya is the first of the Shodaśa-Bhāshyas composed by Śaṅkara. There is a gloss on the same by Tāraka Brahmānanda Sarasvati, but it is available only in manuscripts, although the Bhāshya itself has been published in various characters.

[67] Sanatsujātīya or Sanatsujātīya Gītā, as it is sometimes called, is a dialogue between Dhṛitarāshṭra and Sanatsujāta and consists of four chapters forming the Sanatsujāta Upaparva of the Udyoga Parva of the Mahābhārata. Śaṅkara's Bhāshya on the same is known as

and Bhagavad-Gītā—[68] following the model of his Paramaguru's commentaries on Uttara-Gītā and Anu-Gītā.

Śaṅkara's attention was, then, directed to Śruti-Prasthāna, which included in his time Śvetāśvatara and Nṛisihmatāpanī and one or two others like Kaushītakī and Maitreyī, besides the Ten Principal Upanishads enumerated in the following stanza :

"ईश-केन-कठ-प्रश्न-मुण्ड-माण्डूक्य-तित्तिरि: ।
ऐतरेयं च, छान्दोग्यं, बृहदारण्यकं, दश ॥"

It is said that at the request of his Paramaguru, Śaṅkara began to write his Bhāshya on the Upanishads

Sanatsujātiya-Vivaraṇa and is probably the second of his sixteen commentaries. The Bhāshya on Sanatsujatīya has been published by the Mysore Government in Nāgari character along with his Sahasranāma-Bhāshya.

[68] The Bhagavad-Gitā or the Divine Song is a dialogue between Śrī Kṛishṇa and Arjuna. It forms Adhyāya XXV to Adhyāya XLII of the Bhīshma Parva of the Mahābhārata and it fits in so naturally with the narrative of the great epic that it cannot be said to be a later interpolation, but must, like the main story of the Great War, be assigned to the beginning of the Kali Yuga about 3102 B. C. The dialogue is said to have taken place just before the actual commencement of the Mahābhārata War between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas which took place 37 years before the Kali Yuga, i.e., about 3139 B. C. Śrī Kṛishṇa could not have possibly spoken it in the form in which it is now available to its readers, any more than the other dialogues in the Mahābhārata were held in verse, but that it embodies his teachings in full and was compiled by Veda Vyāsa at the beginning of the Kali Yuga as a portion of the Mahâbhârata, is undoubted. It is justly described to be "the milk of all the Upanishads" and "the essence of all the Śāstras." A host of commentators have commented upon the Bhagavad-Gîtâ, but they all want the depth and originality of Śaṅkara. Śaṅkara's Bhagavat-Gîtâ-Bhâshya has been commented upon by Ānandagiri, his most correct

with Nṛisihma-Pūrva-Tāpanīyopanishad,[69] as Gauḍapāda had already written a Vivaraṇa in verses on the Nṛisihmottaratāpanīyopanishad. He then wrote his famous Bhāshyas on the Daśopanishads, which stand unrivalled to this day as the best exposition on the Upanishads. The order in which he wrote them cannot now be definitely ascertained, but we may assume for all practical purposes that he wrote his Bhāshyas on the Upanishads in the following order: (I) [70] Iśāvāsyopanishad-Bhāshya,

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expounder; and the Text, Bhāshya and Tikā has been published in the Ānandāśrama Series at Poona with several Anukramaṇikās. It has also been translated into several languages and is certainly the earliest commentary available on Gītā. There is no lack of Advaitic commentaries on Bhagavad-Gītā in Sanskrit, but the most read of these after Śaṅkara's are Śaṅkarānanda's, Madhusūdana Sarasvati's and Śrīdhara's. Śaṅkarānanda's Gītā-Tātparya-Bodhinī is, perhaps, the best Advaitic commentary on the Bhagavad-Gītā.

[69] Nṛisihma-Pūrvatāpanīyopanishad belongs to the Adharvaṇa Veda and consists of five Upanishads. Śaṅkara's commentary on the same is known as 'Ādharvaṇa-Tâpaniyopanishad-Bhâshya' and the colophon at the end of the fifth Upanishad runs as follows:—"इति श्रीगोविन्दभगवत्पूज्यपादशिष्यस्य परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीशङ्करभगवतः आद्यकृतौ आथर्वणतापनीयोपनिषद्भाष्ये पञ्चमोपनिषद्भाष्यं संपूर्णम् ।" It has been published in the Ānandâśrama Series together with the Dîpikâ of Vidyâraṇya on the Nṛisihmottara-Tâpanîyopanishad. Both these Upanishads are available in manuscripts with the Dîpikâ of Śaṅkarânanda, the famous commentator of almost all the important Upanishads.

[70] Îśâvâsyopanishad is the fortieth or the last chapter of the Śukla Yajur Veda Samhitâ and is named after opening words "Îśâvâsyam." It is also called the Vâjasaneya-Samhitopanishad. Śaṅkara's Bhâshya on this Upanishad together with the gloss (Tîkâ) thereon by Ānandagiri is available with translations in almost all the languages of India.

(II) [71] Kenopanishad-Bhāshya, (III) [72] Kaṭhopanishad-

It has been published in the Ānandāśrama Series together with the following additional commentaries, viz.

(a) Uvaṭâchârya's Îśâvâsya-Bhâshâa,

(b) Ānandabhaṭṭopâdhyâya's Îśâvâsya-Bhâshya,

(c) Anantâchâryâ's Îśâvâsya-Bhâshya,

(d) Brahmânanda Sarasvati's Îśâvâsya-Rahasya.

(e) Śaṇkarânanda's Îśâvâsya-Dîpikâ, and

(f) Râmachandra Paṇḍita's Îśâvâsya-Rahasya-Vivṛiti.

[71] Kenopanishad, also named after its opening word, is called the Talavakâropanishad and belongs to a Śâkhâ of the Sâma Veda. The Kenopanishad-Bhâshya of Śaṅkara is available in most of the languages of India with its translations. The Ānandâśrama Series contains not only the Bhâshya of Śaṅkara and the Tîkâ of Ānandagiri, but also the Dîpikâs of Śaṅkarânanda and Nârâyaṇa on the Kenopanishad. It is to be noted that Śaṅkara has written two eommentaries on this Upanishad, a Pada-Bhâshya and a Vâkya-Bhâshya, one explaining the meaning of the Upanishad word by word, and the other explaining its meaning by general context.

[72] The Kaṭhopanishad or Kâṭhakopanishad or Kaṭhavallyupanishad, as it is variously called, belongs to the Kaṭha Śâkhâ of the Kṛishṇa Yajur Veda and consists of 2 Adhyâyas, each comprising 3 Vallîs or Sections and the Upanishad tells us the story of Nachiketas and his instructions in Brahmavidyâ by the God of Death. Śaṅkara's Bhâshya on this Upanishad is known as Kâṭhakopanishad-Bhâshya. There are two glosses on this Bhâshya, one by Ānandagiri known as Kaṭhavallî-Bhâshya-Tîkâ, and another by Gopâlendra Yatîśvara known as Kâṭhakopanishad-Bhâshya-Vivaraṇa ; and all these commentaries are printed together in one volume in the Ānandâśrama Series.

[73] Praśnopanishad, as the name itself indicates, is the Upanishad of Questions, and belongs to the Pippalâda Sâkhâ of the Adharvaṇa Veda. It consists of six Praśnas or Questions. Śaṅkara's Bhâshya and Ānandagiri's Tîkâ thereon are published in the Ānandaśrama Series

Bhāshya, (IV) [73] Praśnopanishad-Bhāshya, (V) [74] Muṇḍa-kopanishad-Bhāshya, (VI) [75] Māṇḍūkyopanishad-Bhāshya,

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together with the Praśnopanishad-Dîpika of Śaṅkarânanda. There is also a gloss on Śaṅkara's Praśnopanishad-Bhâshya by Nârâyaṇendra Sarasvati, pupil of Jñânendra Sarasvati, whose preceptor was Kaivalyendra Sarasvati. It is still available only in manuscripts and is styled Praśnopanishad-Bhâshya-Vivaraṇa,

[74] Muṇḍakopanishad is the Upanishad of the Muṇḍaka or razor which cuts the knot of ignorance. It belongs to the Saunaka Śâkhâ of the Adharvana Veda. It consists of 3 Muṇḍakas or Parts, each divided into two Khaṇḍas of Sections. Śaṅkara's Bhâshya on the Muṇḍakopanishad and Ānandagiri's Tîkâ thereon are published in the Ānandâśrama Series together with Nârâyana's Muṇḍakopanishad, Dîpika. There is also a gloss on Śaṅkara's Bhâshya on the Muṇḍakopanishad by Śivânanda Yatîśa called Muṇḍakopanishad-Bhâshya-Tippaṇa. The colophon at the end of this Tippaṇa has the following stanzas:

"शिवानन्दै रिदं काश्यां लिखित्वा प्रेषितं मुदा ।
चोळदेशस्थभिक्षूणा मुरकाराय केवलम् ।।
भगवत्पादभाष्यस्य भावगाम्भीर्यवेदिना ।
शिवानन्दयतीशेन टिप्पणं कृत मादरात् ।।"

[75] Mâṇḍūkyopanishd is called from its Rishi Maṇḍūka. It belongs to the Saunaka-Śâkhâ of the Adharvaṇa Veda. The Upanishad proper consists only 12 Vâkyas, describing the meaning and the power of Praṇava or the mystic Om, as a means of knowing the nature and the reality of Brahman. Gauḍapâda's Kârikâs in interpretation of the Upanishads in general is considered by some to form part of the Mâṇḍūkyopanishad itself, and the first Prakaraṇa of Gauḍapâda-Kârikâ is actually mixed up with it. Śaṅkara has written a Bhâshya not only on the Mâṇḍūkyopanishad but also on the Kârikâs of Gauḍapâda on the same Upanishad. After composing his Bhâshya on the Upanishad, Śaṅkara seems to have incorporated his Bhâshya on the Mâṇḍūkya-Kârikâs of his Paramaguru and treated them both as one Upanishad. Śaṅkara's Bhâshya on the Mâṇḍūkyopanishad as well as on Gauḍapâda's Māṇḍūkya-Kârikâs, together with Ānandagiri's

(VII) [76] Taittirîyopanishad-Bhāshya, (VIII) [77] Aitareyopani-

Tîkâ thereon has been published in the Ānandâśrama Series along with Śaṅkarânanda's Dîpika on the Mâṇḍūkya Upanishad. In some of the manuscripts we find the name of Ānandagiri variously given as Ānandâtman, Ānanda, Ānandajñâna: but he is invariably described as the disciple of Śuddhânanda. the fourth Āchârya after Śaṅkara in the Kâñchî-maṭha, who is said to have attained his Brahmîbhâva in the year (Nala) 2906 of the Kali Yuga corresponding to 196 B. C.

[76] The Taittirîyopanishad, called after the sage Tittiri, belongs to the Taittirîya Sâkhâ of the Kṛishṇa Yajur Veda. It forms the 7th, 8th and 9th Prapâṭhakas of the Taittirîyâraṇyaka, and the three parts are respectively known unde the names: Śikshâvallî, Brahmavallî, and Bhṛrguvallî. Later on, the 10th Prapâthaka, beginning with "अम्भस्य पारे" came to be considered as a part of the Taitttirîyopanishad; but during the time of Śaṅkara, only the three Vallîs beginning with "शं नो मित्रः शं वरुणः" "ब्रह्मविदाप्नोति परम्", "भृगुर्वै वारुणिः" was considered to consitute the Taittirîyopanishad proper, and he has accordingly written his Bhâshya only on these three Vallîs. Ānandagiri's Tîkâ also is confined to these three Vallîs, and both are published in the Ānandâśrama Series, along with Śaṅkarananda's Taittirîyopanishad-Dîpikâ, which is also confined to these three Vallîs. There is also a Vârtikâ on Śaṅkara's Bhâshya ân the Taittirîyopanishad by Sureśvarâchârya, which is also published in a separate volume in the Ānandâśrama Series under the name of Taittirîyopanishad-Bhâshya-Vârtika of Sureśvarâchârya, together with the Tîkâ of Ānandagiri thereon. It is only Vidyâraṇya that has, for the first time, commented upon all these four Prapâṭhakas as Upanishads and his commentary which forms an exeellent exposition of Śaṅkara's views is also published as a separate volume of the Ānandâśrama Series. Paṇḍit A. Mahâdeva Śâstri has collected all these commentaries on the Taittirîyopanishad and has published an excellent English translation of the same under the name of Vedic Religion.

[77] The Aitareyopanishad derives its name from the Rishi Aitareya and it forms part of the Aitareyâraṇyaka of the Rig Veda. In fact, Adhyâyas 4 to 7 of the second Praśna of the Aitareyâraṇyaka constitute the Aitareyopanishad; and Śaṅkara's Bhâshya and Anandagiri's Tîkâ

shad-Bhāshya, (IX) [78] Chhāndogyopanishad-Bhāshya, and (X) [79] Bṛihadāraṇyakopanishad-Bhāshya. Besides the

thereon are confined to these four Adhyâyas. The second and third Praśnas of the Aitareyāraṇyaka are known by the general name of Bahvṛichabrahmaṇopanishad. while Adhyâyas 4 to 7 of the second Praśna are more particularly named as the Aitareyopanishad. Hence the colophon at the end of Śaṅkara's Bhāshya on the Aitareyopanishad runs as follows: "इति श्रीमद्गोविन्दभगवत्पूज्यपादशिष्यश्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यस्य श्रीमच्छङ्करभगवत्पादस्य कृतौ बह्वृचब्राह्मणोपनिषद्भाष्यं संपूर्णम्." Śaṅkara's Bhâshya on this Upanishad along with Ānandagiri's Tîkâ thereon is published in the Ānandaśrama Series, and it contains also Vidyāraṇya's commentaries called Aitareyopanishad-Dîpikâ.

78 The Chhândogyopanishad forms a portion of the Chhāndogya-Brâhmaṇa of the Sâma Veda. Of the 10 Prapâṭhakas which constitute the Chhândogya-Brāhmaṇa, the first two are called the Chhândogya-Mantra-Brâhmaṇa, the remaining eight chapters or Prapâṭhakas constituting the Chhândogya Upanishad. According to Chitsukhâchârya, Śaṅkara is said to have commented not only on the Upanishad portion but also on the Mantra portion; but it is a pity that nothing is known about his Bhâshya on the first two chapters of the Chhândogya Brâhmaṇa. Further, the abruptness and brevity of Śaṅkara's Introduction to this Upanishad clearly shows that he must have already commented upon the first two chapters constituting the Mantra portion of the Chhândogya Brâhmaṇa. The Upanishad is published in the Ānandâśrama Series with Ānandagiri's Tikâ thereon.

79 The Bṛihadâraṇyakopanishad is undoubtedly the biggest and the most important of the Ten Principal Upanishads. It forms a portion of the Bṛihadâraṇyaka of the Kâṇva Sâkhâ of the Sukla Yajur Veda, and it consists of Ādhyâyas III to VIII of the said Āraṇyaka. The first Adhyāya of the Upanishad treats of Avidyā, the next three chapters contain a lengthy discourse between Janakavideha and Yâjnavalkya regarding the true nature of the Supreme Being and of His relation to the Universe. The fifth and sixth chapters deal with various Upâsanâs leading to the attainment of the highest wisdom. As Śaṅkara's Bhâshya on the Bṛihadâraṇyakopanishad forms the key for

commentaries on these Eleven Upanishads and that on the Māṇḍūkya-Kārikās, which Śaṅkara made part and parcel of the Māṇḍūkyopanishad itself, a commentary on the [80] Śvetāśvataropanishad is also ascribed to him. A perusal

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all the Upanishads, Sureśvara has written an exhaustive Vârtika on the same under the name of Bṛihadâraṇyakopanishad-Bhâshya-Vārtika. The first portion of the Vârtika dealing generally with the Upanishads is known as Sambandha-Vârtika. Both the Bhâshya of Śaṇkara and the Vārtika of Sureśvarāchārya are published in four separate volumes in the Ānandāśrama Series along with the Tīkās of Ānandagiri on both the Bhāshya and the Vârtika. On the lines followed by Śaṅkara, there is also a small but a beautiful commentary on the Bṛihadāraṅyakopanishad called Mitāksharā said to have been composed by Nityānandāśrama, a disciple of Purushottama, and the said commentary is also published in a separate volume in the Ānandāśrama Series. While the Bhāshyas of Śaṅkara on all the other Upanishads have been translated and published in various languages, there has not been as yet published a single translation of the Bṛihadāraṅyakopanishad-Bhāshya, which is the best of Śaṅkara's Bhāshyas on the Upanishads.

[80] The Śvetāśvataropanishad derives its name from the sage Śvetâśvatara and forms a portion of the Kṛishṇa Yajur Veda. It consists of six Adhyâyas and it is pre-eminently the Upanishad of Devotion. It explains the essential nature of the Supreme Soul and of the Individual Souls and of their relation to Iśvara on the one hand and to Jagat on the other. There is no doubt a Bhâshya on the said Upanishad ascribed to Śaṅkarāchārya, but a perusal of the same will clearly show that it is not the work of Ādi Śaṅkara, the admitted commentator of the Daśopanishads. It is published in the Ānandāśrama Series along with the Dīpikas of Śaṅkarānanda and Nārāyaṇa and the Vivaraṇa of Bhagavad Vijñānottama, a pupil of Jñānottama. The learned Editor is also of opinion that it is not the work of Śaṅkara, but only of some one of his successors who assumed the title of Śaṅkarāchārya. The long list of quotations found at the beginning of the Bhâshya and the authorities referred to by the commentator will suffice to show that it is the work of a much later writer than Śaṅkara, the Founder of the Advaita Philosophy.

of the said commentary will clearly show that it is not the hand-work of A'di Śaṅkara, but, as we shall point out in the next chapter, it is the hand-work of Abhinava Śaṅkara, one of the greatest of the Successors of Śaṅkara who bore not only the same title but also the same name as the first Śaṅkara.

The last and the most important of the Sixteen Commentaries (Shoḍaśa-Bhāshyas) composed by Śaṅkara at this period was, of course, his [81] Bhāshya on the Vedānta

[81] The Śaṅkara Bhāshya on the Vedānta Sāstras is generally known as Śārīraka-Mîmâmsâ-Bhâshya. It is the authority most generally referred to in India as to the right understanding of the Vedânta Sûtras, and ever since Śaṅkara's time, the majority of the best thinkers of India have been men adhering to his school. There have been written several Tîkâs and Vivaraṇas on Śaṅkara's Bhâshya on the Vedânta Sûtras, but the most important and earliest of such glosses is that of Padmapâdâchârya, one of the direct disciples of Śaṅkara, known as Pañchapâdikâ, which is, however, an incomplete commentary. There is a commentary on this Pañchapâdikâ by Prakāśatma Yati, and it has been recently published at Benares under the name of Pañnchapâdikâ-Vivaraṇa. There is also a gloss on this Vivaraṇa by Śrî Râmânanda Sarasvati and the same has been published in the Chaukâmbā Sanskrit Series under the name of Pañchapâdikâ-Vivaraṇopanyâsa. There is also another commentary called Tatva-Dîpana on Prakâśâtma Yati's Pañchapâdikâ-Vivaraṇa by Akhaṇḍā-nanda Muni. There is again another commentary on Pañchapâdikâ-Vivaraṇa called Bhâva-Prakâśikâ by Nṛisihmaśramamuni, a disciple of Jagannâthāśrama, but it is only available in manuscripts.

The next important commentary on Śaṅkara's Brahma-Sûtra-Bhâshya is Bhâmatî by Śrî Vâchaspati Miśra, one of the best expounders of Śaṅkara's Philosophy. Vedânta-Kalpataru is a gloss on Bhâmatî by Amalânanda and it is published at Benares in two parts. There is again a gloss on this Vedânta-Kalpataru by Appaya Dîkshita, the celebrated Sanskrit scholar of Southern India and it is also published under the name of "Parimala" at Benares in three parts.

Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa. Whole hosts of commentators have commented upon the Brahma Sūtras but [82] they all want the

There are also four more eommentaries available on Śaṅkara's Brahma-Sūtra-Bhâsya, and they may be mentioned in the following order. The first and the foremost of them is Śârîraka-Nyâya-Nirṇaya a regular commentary on Śaṅkara Bhâshya by his famous expounder Ānandagiri or Ānandajñâna, the disciple of Suddhânanda. The next is Bhâshyaratna-Prabhâ, an equally famous commentary on Śaṅkara Bhâshya by Govindânanda and it is also sometimes known as 'Râmānandīyam.' Brahma-vidyâbharaṇa is another profound commentary on Śaṅkara-Bhāshya by Advaitânanda Sarasvati, a disciple of Rāmānanda Tirtha who was himself a disciple of Bhūmananda. The last and perhaps the most important of the commentaries on Śaṅkara's Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāshya though still unpublished, is Śārîraka-Nyāya-Rakshâmaṇi, a commentary by Appayya Dîkshita. This is not to be confounded either with his Parimala, a commentary on Vedānta-Kalpataru, or with his Śivârkamaṇi-Dîpikâ, a commentary on Śrîkaṇtha's Brahma-Sūtra-Bhasya. The colophon at the end of the 1st Pâdâ of the 1st Adhyâya runs as follows: "इति श्रीमद्भरद्वाजकुलजलधि कौस्तुभ श्रीमदद्वैतविद्याचार्यश्रीविश्वजिद्याजिश्रीरङ्गराजाध्वरिवर-सूनोरप्पयदीक्षितरच कृतौ शारीरकन्यायरक्षामणौ प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथमपादः ॥"

Besides these, we have two more poetical commentaries on Śaṅkara's Brahma-Sūtra-Bhâshya, one called Vedântâdhikaraṇa-Nyâya-Mâlâ or Vaiyâsika-Nyâya-Mâlā by Bhâratî Tîrtha, and another called Bhâshyârtha-Ratnamâlâ by Subrahmaṇya Sudhî; and both have been published, the one in the Nâgari and the other in the Telugu character.

[82] We have been able to collect the following Bhâshyas on Bâdarâyaṇa's Vedanta-Sūtras, representing the various schools of Vedânta philosophy that came into existence in India since the time of Śaṅkara.

I. Brahma-Sūtra-Bhâshya of Śrîmad Vijñâna Bhikshu called Vijñânâmrita. It represents the unsectarian Viśishṭâdvaitic School of Vedânta Philosophy. It is published in the Chaukâmbâ Sanskrit Series.

boldness, depth, originality and simplicity of Śaṅkara. In fact Śankara's Bhāshya is not only the most important, but also the oldest of the commentaries extant on the Brahma Sūtras. As a piece of philosophical argumentation,

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II. Brahma-Mîmâmsa-Bhâshya of Srîkantha Śivachârya. It represents the Saiva Viśishṭâdvaitic School of Vedânta Philosophy. The work has been mostly published at Kumbakonam with Appayya Dîkshita's commentary thereon called Śivârkamaṇi-Dîpikâ.

III. Śrî Śârîraka-Mîmâmsâ-Brahma-Sûtra-Bhâshya or more briefly called Śrîbhâshya by Bhagavad Râmânujâchârya. It represents the Vaishṇava Viśistâdvaitic School of Vedanta Philosophy and is available with Śruta-Prakâśikâ, a gloss thereon by Sudarśana Bhaṭṭâcharya.

IV. Srîmad Aṇu-Bhâshya by Srî Vallabhâchârya. It represents the Suddhādvaita School of Vedānta Philosophy and is published at Benares with Bhâshya-Prakāśa, a commentary thereon by Sri Purushottamaji Mahârâja.

V. Brahma-Sûtra-Bhāshya of Śri Nimbārkācharya, called Vedānta-Pârijâta-Saurabha. It represents the Dvaitādvaita School of Vedânta Philosophy and is available with the commentary of Śrinivāsācharya and Keśava Bhatta's Gloss thereon.

VI. Vedānta-Sûtra-Bhāsya by Baladeva called Govinda-Bhāshya. It represents a School of Vedānta Philosophy ranging between Śaṅkara's Advaita and Rāmāṇuja's Viśishtadvaita. It is being published with an English Translation in the Sacred Books of the Hindus Series.

VII. Śri Śuka-Bhâshya by Sri Śuka Bhagavatpādāchārya, called also Sarva-Vedānta-Sāra-Mimāmsā-Bhāshya. It represents the School of Vedanta Philosophy as explained in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and is published in Telugu character with a running commentary called Bhāshya-Chandrikā.

VIII. Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāshya of Śri Bhāskarāchārya. It represents the unsectarian Dvaita School of Vedānta Philosophy and is published in the Chaukāmbā Sanskrit Series.

IX. Brahma-Sûtra-Bhāshya of Śrikarāchārya, called Śrikara-Bhāshya. It represents the Śaiva Dvaita School of Vedānta Philosophy and is available in Telugu chāracter.

it occupies the highest rank among the numerous commentaries on the Vedānta Sūtras.

Gauḍapāda was so much delighted with the activity of Śaṅkara, that he undertook to take him to Kailāsa on the Himālayas where his Guru and Paramaguru were engaged in Tapas and to introduce him and his works to them. Śaṅkara's joy knew no bounds when he saw the sages Bādarāyaṇa and Śuka, the Guru and Paramaguru of his Paramāchārya, engaged in Brahmanisṭhā in one of the peaks of Mount Kailāsa; and he considered himself the most fortunate man in the world, as the Dhanyāshṭaka,[33] which he composed on that occasion, amply testifies to the

X. Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāshya of Śri Maddhvāchārya, called also Dvaita-Bhāshya. It represents the Vaishṇava Dvaita School of Vedānta Philosophy and is available with the commentaries of Jayatirtha and Jagannātha Yati.

These are the chief writers of Bhāshyas or Independent Commentaries on Brahma Sūtras, and these together with Śaṅkara represent the Eleven Schools of Vedānta Philosophy prevailing in India. Maddhvāchārya quotes 21 Commentators before his time, but many of them exist only in name, if not solely in the imagination of Pūrṇaprajñāchārya.

[33] Dhanyāshṭaka, as the name itself implies, is a collection of 8 stanzas in praise of the blessed condition of Mahātmas like Bādarāyaṇa and Śuka. The first stanza runs as follows :—

"त ज्ज्ञानं प्रशमकरं य दिन्द्रियाणां
तज्ज्ञेयं य दुपनिषत्सु निश्चितार्थम् ।
ते धन्या भुवि परमार्थनिश्चितेहा:
शेषा स्तु भ्रमनिलये परिभ्रमन्ति ॥"

The concluding stanza (St. 9) runs as follows :—

"अहि मिव जनयोगं सर्वदा वर्जये द्यः
कुणपमिव सुनारीं त्यक्तुकामो विरागी ।

same. Both Bâdarâyaṇa and Śuka [84] were immensely glad to go through the Bhāshyas and Prakaraṇas of Śaṅkara and pronounced his Bhāshya on their Brahma Sūtras as containing the true interpretation of the Upanishads. They offered

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विषमिव विषया न्यो मन्यमानो दुरन्तान्
जयति परमहंसो मुक्तिभावं समेति ॥"

[84] The meeting of Śaṅkara and Bādarāyaṇa, according to both Chitsukha and Ānandagiri, took place near Kailāsa on the Himālayas. Ānandagiri, however does not introduce Śuka at this stage, and according to him Śuka is seen for the first time by Śaṅkara as one of the hosts of mighty sages attending on the Great Teacher, Mahādeva who appeared to Śaṅkara in the form of Dakshiṇamurti at the foot of a banian tree (Vata) on one of the white peaks of Kailāsa. Govindānanda and Śaṅkarānanda locate this meeting between Śaṅkara and Bādarāyaṇa at Badarikāśrama itself where Bādarāyaṇa goes of his own accord to pay a visit to Śaṅkara on hearing that he has composed commentaries not only on the Bhagavad Gitā and the Upanishads, but also on his own Brahma Sūtras. The following is the account given in Govindānanda's Keraliya Śaṅkara Vijaya:

"उदीच्यां दिशि तीर्थानि पुण्यानि सकलानि सः ।
सेवमानोऽथ संप्राप्तः पुण्यं बदरिकाश्रमम् ॥
*　　*　　*
वेदान्तसूत्रवेश्मान्तर्वर्तमानर्थदुष्टये ।
तदानीं सोऽकरोत् प्राज्ञः श्रीमद्भाष्यप्रदीपिकाम् ॥
सर्वदिग्व्याप्तभाष्यांशुश्रीशङ्करदिवाकरः ।
तिरश्चक्रे ऽखिलं लोके प्रतिवादितमोगुणम् ॥
निजनिर्मितसूत्राणां श्रुत्वा भाष्यनिबन्धनम् ।
तत्राऽऽजगाम सन्तुष्टो भगवान् बादरायणः ॥
दृष्ट्वाऽन्योन्यं व्यतनुतां सपर्यां मुचिता मुभौ ।
उवाच तदनु व्यासं शङ्करो हृष्टमानसः ॥

their sincere blessings to Śaṅkara and direced him to go and preach his Advaita Darśana at Vārāṇasî (Benares), the

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हे मुने स्वागतं तेऽस्तु कृतार्थोऽस्मि तवेक्षणात् ।
येन त्वया त्रयी व्यस्ता ज्ञानकर्मप्रभेदतः ॥

तदीयार्थप्रकाशार्थं ब्रह्मसूत्राणि भो मुने ।
सन्दर्शिताखिलाम्नायमहार्थानि कृतानि च ॥

लोका ननुजिघृक्षु स्त्वं लोके सञ्चरसि ध्रुवम् ।
पूर्णकामाः किं मन्यस्मा दभिवाञ्च्छन्ति पूरुषाः ॥

तथाऽप्यागमने हेतुं तव पृच्छामि कौतुकात् ।
कांक्षितेनापि केनापि भवान् सांप्रत मागतः ॥

इत्युक्तो यतिवर्येण शङ्करेण महात्मना ।
प्रत्युवाचाऽतिहृष्टात्मा महर्षि र्बादरायणः ॥

वेदान्तागमसूत्राणां रचितानां महामते ।
त्वया भाष्यं व्यधायीति श्रुत्वाऽऽयातोऽस्मि सांप्रतम् ॥

तद् द्रष्ठुं कौतुकेनाऽलं त्वरते मम मानसम् ।
इत्युक्तो दर्शयामास स तस्मै भाष्यपुस्तकम् ॥

अपूर्वं तत् समादाय शङ्करेण विनिर्मितम् ।
यथाव दखिलं वीक्ष्य प्राह तं बादरायणः ॥

विवृताऽखिलसूत्रार्थं निर्दोषं सुगुणान्वितम् ।
हिताय सुतरा मेत ज्जायते ऽद्वैतवादिनाम् ॥

अर्थाऽमृत मुदारं सत् सूत्रदुग्धपयोनिधौ ।
आविष्कृत मिदं भाष्यं त्वत्कृतं मन्दरायते ॥

प्रमोदो मम जातोऽलं तस्मा द्भाष्यनिबन्धनात् ।
तस्मा दस्य प्रतिष्ठां त्वं कुरु लोके समन्ततः ॥

ancient seat of all A'ryan learning, and to establish its supremacy in the world by subjugating all the hostile religions and philosophies which were then crushing all spirit out of the true ideal of the Upanishads.

No sooner had they pronounced their blessings on Śaṅkara than the two sages, Bādarāyaṇa and Śuka, miraculously disappeared from the scene; and not even Gaudapāda was left there to comfort poor Śaṅkara in that strange land of the Siddhas. Having fulfilled the mission of their life in this world, the three great teachers had gone up to Kailasa, where Mahādeva, the great Lord of Wisdom, sits enthroned on the Silver Mountain with His Gracious Energy, the World's Mother, the Goddess Umā by his side, leaving the rest of their task into the able hands of Śaṅkara. Śaṅkara becomes immensely grieved at the sudden departure of his venerable teachers, and all human existence appears to him completely profitless. He considered all sentient beings as mere actors walking in a vain show produced by a magician. In fact, the state of mind of the youthful ascetic at that time

इत्युक्त्वा यतिवर्याय पुस्तकं संप्रदाय तत् ।
सन्तुष्टः सुतरां व्यास स्तिरोधानं गतोऽभवत् ॥"

But according to the authors of the later Saṅkara Vijayas, such as Mādhava, Sadānanda and Chidvilāsa, this meeting of Saṅkara and Bādarāyaṇa is said to have taken place at Benares, after Saṅkara had settled himself there with many of his disciples. Mādhava says that Vyāsa came to Śaṅkara's abode at Benares in the disguise of an old man and after entering into a long disputation with him on some of the knotty points in his Vedānta Sūtras was at last forced to yield to the views and interpretations of Śaṅkara. The description of this meeting of Śaṅkara and Vyāsa as given by these later biographers is most unnatural and unlikely and seems to have been designed to meet the objections raised against his commentary in Maddhva Vijaya and Maṇi-Mañjari.

was very much like that of Gautama Buddha when he found himself alone under the Bodhi-tree. He yearned to meet with a Guru who would be able to teach him the way of absolute release and free him for ever from all earthly bonds.

As his mind thus became *en rapport* with a spirit of resignation to the Will of the Great Teacher, Maheśvara Himself, Śaṅkara beholds a mystic Guru in human form, milk-white, three-eyed, moon-crested, holding in the hands a rosary of pearls, a vessel of nector, a sacred book and Chinmudrā, the symbol of the blessed wisdom, young and handsome with the Yogic belt, girdled by a mighty serpent, bedecked with garlands of pearls, seated in the posture of an expositor on a stately tabernacle adorned with myriads of fragrant blooming flowers at the foot of a big banian tree (Vaṭa-druma) in the middle of a majestic and solemn grove on one of the snow-white peaks of Mount Kailāsa, surrounded by Vāmadeva, Jaimini, Bādarāyaṇa, Śūka, Gauḍapâda and a host of mighty sages, all old and venerable in appearance, seated in the posture of disciples with one and the same kind of book in their hands. Śaṅkara, unconscious of the coming crisis, draws near the Great Teacher whose serene face is turned to south (Dakshinā-bhimukha) towards himself, and is transported with rapture at the sight of his venerable teachers seated in front of the Mighty Guru. It was then that he composed his immortal hymn to the Divine Teacher, well-known under the name of "Dakshiṇāmūrti-Stotra," which inculcates the highest devotion to the Divine Being as the Guru of Gurus, and an equal devotion to one's own immediate Guru who should be

[84] As a terse expression of the fundamental truths of Vedānta Philosophy, Śaṅkara's Dakshiṇāmūrti-Stotra forms a suitable text book upon which the student may meditate and realize the whole doctrine of

regarded as an incarnation of the former. Having composed these immortal verses, Śaṅkara throws himself at the feet of the Gurus. The Gracious Lord and his mighty attendants are immensely pleased with the hymn. Śuka, one of the surrounding host, now intercedes on behalf of his great grand disciple as worthy to be taught the mystery of Spiritual Knowledge, and the Divine Teacher accordingly receives Śaṅkara and bids the attendants prepare at once for his soleman initiation into Adhyātma-Sannyāsa.

Śaṅkara is, accordingly, bathed with water from the sacred Ganges and made ready for reception by a variety of minute purificatory ceremonies. The neophyte is besmeared with sacred ashes and wears the Kāshāya, the peculiar habiliment of the Sannyāsin. With one hand grasping the Daṇḍa (sacred staff) and the other the Kamaṇḍalu (water-pot), he renounces once again all desires of worldly splendour and wealth and expresses the determination to

Śaṅkara's Advaita for himself. It properly consists of only ten stanzas and begins with :

"विश्वं दर्पणदृश्यमाननगरीतुल्यं निजान्तर्गतं
पश्य न्नात्मनि मायया बहिरिवोद्भूतं यथा निद्रया ।
यः साक्षात्कुरुते प्रबोधसमये स्वात्मान मेवा ऽद्वयं
तस्मै श्रीगुरुमूर्तये नम इदं श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तये ॥"

But in most of the manuscripts and printed editions of this celebrated poem the following additional stanzas are found after the close of the 10th stanza :—

"वटविटपिसमीपे भूमिभागे निषण्णं
सकल मुनिजनानां ज्ञानदातार मारात् ।
त्रिभुवनगुरु मीशं दक्षिणामूर्तिदेवं
जननमरणदुःखच्छेददक्षं नमामि ॥

follow the will of his Guru. He is then presented before the Mighty Teacher, the serene-faced Primal Being Himself, who, at the time of universal dissolution, absorbs all into

चित्रं वटतरो र्मूले वृद्धाः शिष्या गुरु र्युवा ।
गुरो स्तु मौनं व्याख्यानं शिष्यास्तु च्छिन्नसंशयाः ॥

ओं नमः प्रणवार्थाय शुद्धज्ञानैकमूर्तये ।
निर्मलाय प्रशान्ताय दक्षिणामूर्तये नमः ॥

निधये सर्वविद्यानां भिषजे भवरोगिणाम् ।
गुरवे सर्वलोकानां दक्षिणामूर्तये नमः ॥

मौनव्याख्याप्रकटितपरब्रह्मतत्त्वं युवानं
वर्षिष्ठान्तेवसदृषिगणै रावृतं ब्रह्मनिष्टैः ।
आचार्येन्द्रं करकलितचिन्मुद्र मानन्दरूपं
स्वात्मारामं मुदितवदनं दक्षिणामूर्ति मीडे ॥"

All these verses are found in Chitsukhâchârya's Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya and apparently these verses are his own productions. We have a celebrated Vârtika or Poetical Commentary on this magnificent Ode by Sureśvarâchârya, one of the direct and prominent disciples of Śaṅkara, called Mânasollâsa, consisting of 10 Ullâsas or Chapters, each of which is devoted to the exposition of a single stanza of this immortal poem of ten verses. The Mysore Government has brought out a beautiful edition of this poem with Sureśvarâchârya's Vârtika of Mânasollâsa, and Râma Tîrtha's gloss thereon called Mânasollâsa-Vṛittânta, together with an independent commentary on the original hymn itself by Svayamprakâśa Yatîndra, a disciple of Kaivalyânanda Yogîndra, called Tatva-Sudhâ. The hymn is termed Dakshiṇâmûrti-Stota merely because the name Dakshinâmûrti occurs in the last line of each verse as the burthen of the hymn. Paṇḍit A. Mahâdeva Śâstri has published a beautiful English translation of the said hymn and of the Vârtika of Sureśvarâchârya thereon under the name of 'Vedânta Doctrine of Śaṅkarâchârya' which also contains the text and translation of the Dakshiṇâmûrti-Upanishad, which probably came into existence about Śaṅkara's time.

Himself and who shines and delights in the happiness of His own inherent bliss; and the neophyte not knowing how to worship adequately the Omniscient Lord composes his famous poem called [85] Parâ-Pūjâ and offers it as his humble present to the Divine Teacher. The Mahâvâkyas of the Upanishads are directly taught to him by the Gracious Lord as constituting the knowledge of the Highest Secret, and he solemnly repeats them with all his faculties absorbed in loving devotion to the Spiritual Teacher. With the impartation to him of the mysteries of the Vedânta Philosophy and

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[85] Parâ-Pûjâ is a short poem in 5 stanzas in which Śaṅkara shows how difficult it is for a person like himself who has realized the true nature of God to worship Him in any of the ordinary forms covered by the Shodaśopachâras. It is so short and sweet that we quote it in full below:

"पूर्णस्याऽऽवाहनं कुत्र सर्वाधारस्य चाऽऽसनम् ।
स्वच्छस्य पाद्य मर्घ्यं च शुद्धस्याऽऽचमनं कुतः ॥ १ ॥

निर्मलस्य कुतः स्नानं वस्त्रं विश्वोदरस्य च ।
निरालम्बस्योपवीतं पुष्पं निर्वासनस्य च ॥ २ ॥

निर्लेपस्य कुतो गन्धो रम्यस्याऽऽभरणं कुतः ।
नित्यतृप्तस्य नैवेद्यं ताम्बूलं च कुतो विभोः ॥ ३ ॥

प्रदक्षिणा ह्यनन्तस्य ह्यद्वयस्य कुतो नतिः ।
वेदवाक्यै रवेद्यस्य कुतः स्तोत्रं विधीयते ॥ ४ ॥

स्वयं प्रकाशमानस्य कुतो नीराजनं विभोः ।
अन्त र्बहि श्च पूर्णस्य कथ मुद्रासनं भवेत् ॥ ५ ॥"

Chitsukhâchârya, after giving these verses in his Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya, concludes the poem with the following stanza:—

"एव मेव परा पूजा सर्वावस्थासु सर्वदा ।
एकबुद्ध्या तु देवेशे विधेया ब्रह्मवित्तमैः ॥"

of the presentation to him of the Sacred Book which the Divine Teacher was holding in his hand the initiation becomes complete.

To his great satisfaction and astonishment, Śaṅkara finds that the book that has been so kindly presented to *him* by the Divine Teacher is no other than his own Bhāshya on the Brahma Sūtras and he cannot sufficiently express his gratitude to the Great Guru for the special favour shown to him. The Guru is so much pleased with Śaṅkara that He graciously reveals Himself before him as the Great Lord Śiva Himself and gladly takes him right up to the Silver Mountain on the Mahakailasa whose innumerable white peaks are adorned with diverse jewels. There, in a magnificent shrine of ruddy gold, the newly initiated ascetic beholds the Divine Teacher, the first and the only God, seated upon a majestic throne surrounded with rich silken hangings and adorned with innumerable sparkling gems, with one sacred face representing the One Absolute Being in the universe, with three graceful eyes indicating the splendour of the three great lights of the world, with the crest of His matted hair crowned with the Ganges, the crescent-moon and the Kadamba-garland revealing his triple nature as Sat, Chit and Ananda, with His ears adorned with ear-rings of conch-shell and flower-petals indicating the harmony and beauty which He preserves in the world, with His throat black with the poison churned out from the milky ocean bearing testimony to the infinite compassion that He has towards His devotees, with His hands grasping an antelope (the sign of self-control) an axe (the sign of power), the Abhayamudrâ (the sign of safety) and Varadamudrâ (the sign of assurance of gifts of grace) with His body ruddy like coral, besmeared with sacred ashes, showing that His Justice is always tempered with Mercy, with His breast adorned with the white investing

thread (Brahma-sūtra) indicating His mastery over the Śaktis (the three Energies of the Soul) and the Guṇas (the three Qualities of Matter), with His neck shining with necklaces consisting of bones and skulls of innumerable Brahmâs, Vishṇus and Rudras whom He produced from time to time for the purpose of creating, protecting and destroying the universe, with His waist resplendent with dagger and girdle expressive of His omnipotence and omniscience, with His lotus-like feet tinkling with the heroic anklets and sounding bells proclaiming that He is the author of all Revelations (Śrutis add Śmṛitis), with the Goddess Umâ, His Supreme Energy (Parâ-Sakti) always seated on His left side, with the Goddesses of Wealth and Learning waving on either side of Him a white Châmara (Chowrie) and a flower-twined Vyajana (Fan) representing that He is the Master of all Wealth and Learning, with the heavenly musicians and choristers of every degree singing His paise in sweet harmony with innumerable musical instuments, with His hosts of devotees dancing before His presence with their quivering bodies thrilled in every part with joy, with the holy ascetics reciting the Upanishads with their hands clasped above their heads, and with Indra and other gods standing far off, with hands upon their mouths, humbly making known their wants to Him, as they are kept back by the wand of the sacred Nandikeśwara. As Śaṅkara eagerly beholds the Mighty Lord, Sadâśiva, who is from eternity free from all impurity, the Everlasting, the All-pervader, possessed of all wisdom and pre-eminence and all spontaneous grace, who, through His infinite compassion towards souls, for which they can render Him no return, ever performs without performance, the acts of Sṛishṭi (Creation), Sthiti (Protection), Samhâra (Destruction), Tirodhâna (Veiling) and Anugraha (Dispensing grace) once from foot to head and again from top to toe,

his frame is dissolved in ecstacy like wax in fire. Rapture fills him as the torrent from the open sluice, and as he is plunged into the very gulf of delight, the two great hymns in praise of Śiva, known as [86] Śiva-Pâdâdi-Keśânta-Varṅana-Stotra and [87] Śiva-Keśâdi-Pâdânta Varṇana-Stotra flow forth

[86] Śiva-Pâdâdi-Keśânta-Varṇana-Stotra is one of the most beautiful poems in praise of Śiva as He appeared to Śaṅkara in Mahâkailâsa and consists of 40 stanzas in Sragdharâ metre. The first stanza runs as follows :—

"कल्याणं नो विधत्तां कटकतटलसत्कल्पवाटीनिकुञ्ज-
क्रीडासंसक्तविद्याधरनिकरवधूगीतरुद्रावदानः ।
तारैर्हेरम्बनादैस्तरलितनिनदत्तारकारातिकेकी
कैलासः शर्वनिवृत्यभिजनकपदं सर्वदा पर्वतेन्द्रः ॥ १ ॥"

Chitsukhâchârya, in his Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya, says that this poem was composed by Śaṅkara on the occasion of his famous visit to Mahâkailâsa as he took a full glance of the Lord Śiva from foot to head, and he concludes this poem with the following stanza :

"ध्याय न्नित्थं प्रभाते प्रतिदिवस मिदं स्तोत्ररत्नं पठे द्यः
किं वा ब्रूम स्तदीयं सुचरित मथवा कीर्तयामः समासात् ।
संपज्जातं समग्रं सदसि बहुमतिं सर्वलोकप्रियत्वं
संप्राप्याऽऽयुःशतान्ते पद मयति परब्रह्मणो मन्मथारेः ॥"

This poem is published in Part VI of the Kâvya-Mâla Series.

[87] Śiva-Keśâdi-Pâdânta-Varṇana-Stotra is a similar grand poem in praise of Śiva by Śaṅkara and consists of 28 stanzas also composed in Sragdharâ, which appears to be Śaṅkara's favourite metre. The first stanza runs as follows :—

"देयासु र्मूर्ध्नि राजत्सरससुरसरित्पारपर्यन्तनिर्य
त्प्रांशुस्तम्बाः पिशङ्गा स्तुलितपरिणतारक्तशालीलता नः ।
दुर्वारापत्तिगर्तश्रितनिखिलजनोत्तारणे रज्जुभूता
घोराघोर्वीरुहालीदहनशिखिशिखाः शर्म शार्वाः कपर्दाः॥"

from his sacred lips, which in their beauty of description of what he saw in Mahâkailâsa stands unrivalled to this day.

From this moment Śaṅkara is entirely transformed into a new man; he has become a Jîvan-Mukta—one in feeling, soul and power with the Infinite and Eternal Lord, though living in a mortal body still, for a while, solely with a view to save the world. In fact Śaṅkara has realized the Supreme Soul and has become one with the Divine Teacher, as the [88] Ātma-Bhujaṅga and [89] Svânubhava-Prakaraṇa which he

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Chitsukha says that this poem was also composed by Śaṅkara on the same occasion as he beheld Śiva in Mahâkailâsa from top to toe, and he concludes the poem with the following prayer:

"भूम्ना यस्यास्तभूम्ना भुवन मनुसृतं यत् परं धाम धाम्नां
साम्ना माम्नायतत्वं यदपि च परमं य द्गुणातीत माद्यम्।
यच्चांहोह न्निरीहं गहन मिति मुहः प्राहु रुच्चै र्महान्तो
माहेशं त न्महो मे महित महरह र्मोहरोहं निहन्तु ॥"

This poem is also published in Part VI of the Kâvya-Mâlâ Series.

[88] Ātma-Bhujaṅga, also known as Ātma-Shatka is a small poem in six stanzas in the metre called Bhujaṅgaprayâta, on the realization of one's own Soul as the Supreme Being of the Universe. It begins with:—

"मनोबुद्ध्यहङ्कारचित्तानि नाऽहं
न च श्रोत्रजिह्वे न च घ्राणनेत्रे।
न च व्योमभूमी न तेजो न वायु
श्चिदानन्दरूपः शिवोऽहं शिवोऽहम् ॥"

The last stanza in which he affirms in positive terms the real nature of the Soul runs as follows:—

"अहं निर्विकल्पो निराकाररूपो
विभु र्व्याप्य सर्वत्र सर्वेन्द्रियाणि।
सदा मे समत्वं न मुक्ति र्न बन्ध
श्चिदानन्दरूपः शिवोऽहं शिवोऽहम् ॥"

composed at this time show clearly. The Divine Teacher, Mahesvara, becomes extremely pleased with him, blesses him with long life and sound health, orders him to go forth as a Paramahamsa Parivrâjakâchârya and proclaim his Advaita Darsana at Benares and other places, and assures him that his Absolute Philosophy will be established and respected throughout the whole world. Being thus blessed by Lord Siva, the new spiritual teacher goes back to the hermitage of Bâdarâyana at the foot of the Kailâsa Mountain near the source of the Ganges, wherefrom had disappeared his three great teachers a short while ago.

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[89] Svânubhava-Prakaraṇa or more briefly called Svânubhûti is a small poem in 36 stanzas of Anushṭubh metre on the realization of Brahman in one's own self-realization. It begins with :—

"अह मेव परं ब्रह्म ह्यह मेव परं सुखम् ।
अह मेवाह मह मेवास्मि केवलम् ॥ १ ॥
अहं चैतन्य मेवास्मि दिव्यज्ञानात्मकोऽस्म्यम् ।
सर्वाक्षरविहीनोऽस्मि ह्यहं ब्रह्मास्मि केवलम् ॥ २ ॥
अहमर्थविमुक्तोऽस्मि, इदमर्थविवर्जितः ।
सर्वानर्थविमुक्तोऽस्मि ह्यहं ब्रह्मास्मि केवलम् ॥ ३ ॥
अह मस्मि परश्चास्मि सर्वलोकोऽस्मि सोऽस्म्यहम् ।
सर्वलोकगुरुश्चास्मि ह्यहं ब्रह्मास्मि केवलम् ॥ ४ ॥"

The poem is concluded with the following stanzas :—

"ब्रह्मादिभेदहीनोऽस्मि केशवत्वादिसर्ववित् ।
शङ्करादिविहीनोऽस्मि ह्यहं ब्रह्मास्मि केवलम् ॥ ३५ ॥
इदं स्वानुभवं प्रोक्तं सर्वोपनिषदां वरम् ।
यो वा को वा श्रृणोतीदं ब्रह्मैव भवति स्वयम् ॥ ३६ ॥"

The whole of this Prakaraṇa is found in Bṛihat Saṅkara Vijaya, and the last stanza is probably the composition of Chitsukha himself containing his reflection on the effect of the poem on its hearers.

There he finds his old companion and co-student, Vishṇu Śarman, plunged in deep sorrow on account of the sudden disappearance of himself and his great teachers, for whom he had searched throughout that sacred hermitage. On being questioned by his trusted friend, Śaṅkara narrates to him how he suddenly missed his great teachers—Bâdarâyaṇa, Śuka and Gauḍapâda, how in his despair he found out the Divine Guru in the form of Dakshiṇâmūrti under the foot of a banian tree, how he had been received by the Spritual Teacher and initiated into the Adhyâtma-Sannyâsa (Spiritual Asceticism), how he had been taught by the Gracious Lord the mysteries of the Vedânta Philosophy, how Śiva, the Lord of Wisdom revealed Himself to him in Mahâ kailâsa, and what all wonders he witnessed in that sacred paradise. At the earnest request of Vishṇu Śarman, Śaṅkara composes his[90] Adhyâtmavidyâ-Sannyâsavidhi and

[90] Adhyâtmavidyâ-Sannyâsavidhi is a small Prakaraṇa or treatise in 44 stanzas explaining the nature of Adhyâtma-Sannyâsa or Spiritual Asceticism and what according to it is meant by Snâna (Bathing), Śaucha (Purity), Sandhyâ (Prayer), Bhikshâ (Food), Ekânta (Solitude) and Chāturmāsya-Saṅkalpa (Four months' vow), which are the six chief duties prescribed to an ordinary Sannyāsin. It begins with:—

"वहिरन्तः स्थितं देव मात्मानं परमेश्वरम् ।
दृश्यादृश्याधिकं विश्वं गुरु मेकं नमाम्यहम् ॥ १ ॥

यतीना मुत्तमाचारो मोक्षासाधनरूपकः ।
अध्यात्मविद्यासंन्यासविधि र्जेजीयते ध्रुवम् ॥ २ ॥

स्नानं शौचं तथा भिक्षा नित्य मेकान्तसेवनम् ।
भिक्षो श्चत्वारि कर्माणि पञ्चमं नोपलभ्यते ॥ ३ ॥

स्नानं मनोमलत्यागः शौच मिन्द्रियनिग्रहः ।
ब्रह्मामृतं पिबे द्भिक्षा मेकान्तं द्वैतवर्जितम् ॥ ४ ॥"

[61] Vedânta-Diṇḍima, thereby explaining to him what it was that constituted Ādhyatma-Sannyâsa into which he was initiated by the Divine Teacher and what the essence and substance of the teaching of the Vedânta was as imparted to him by the Guru of Gurus.

The poem ends as follows :—

" मयि सर्वं मिदं जातं मयि सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
मयि सर्वं लयं याति तद्ब्रह्माऽद्वयमस्म्यहम् ॥ ४४ ॥

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमच्छङ्कराचार्यविरचित: सर्ववेदवेदान्तोपनिषत्पुराणेतिहाससारसंग्रहाध्यात्मविद्यासंन्यासविधि: संपूर्ण: ।"

The work is still unpublished, although it is available in manuscripts in many of the libraries of India and is fully given in Chitsukhāchārya's Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya.

[61] Vedānta-Diṇḍima, also sometimes called Ātmānātma-Viveka-Diṇḍima, is a poem in 67 stanzas of Anushṭubh metre containing the general principles of the Advaita-Vedānta, as taught to Śaṅkara by the Divine Guru. Each stanza ends with the word 'Vedāntaḍiṇḍimah' and hence the work itself has come to be called Vedānta-Diṇḍima. The introductory stanza invokes the presence of the Mighty Teacher, Śrī Dakshināmūrti, as the whole of what he is going to say in the poem embodies the substance of the teachings of the Divine Guru. It runs as follows :—

" वेदान्तडिण्डिमा स्तत्त्व मेक मुद्घोषयन्ति यत् ।
आस्तां पुरस्ता त्त त्तेजो दक्षिणामूर्तिशब्दितम् ॥ १ ॥

The poem proper begins with the following stanzas :

" आत्मानात्मपदार्थौ द्वौ भोक्तृभोग्यत्वलक्षणौ ।
ब्रह्मैवाऽऽत्मा न देहादि रिति वेदान्तडिण्डिम: ॥ २ ॥
ज्ञानाज्ञानपदार्थौ द्वा वात्मनो बन्धमुक्तिदौ ।
ज्ञाना न्मुक्ति र्निबन्धोऽन्य दिति वेदान्तडिण्डिम: ॥ ३ ॥"

On hearing this marvellous account, Vishṇu-Śarman's admiration for Śaṅkara increases a thousandfold and he forthwith prays to Śaṅkara in eight verses known as [92] Guruvashṭaka and entreats Śaṅkara to take him as his

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This instructive treatise is concluded with the following stanzas :—

"अभेददर्शनं मोक्षः संसारो भेददर्शनम् ।
सर्वत्रेदान्तसिद्धान्त इति वेदान्तडिण्डिमः ।। ६४ ।।
न काम्यप्रतिषिद्धाभिः क्रीडाभि र्मोक्षसाधनम् ।
ईश्वरानुग्रहा त्तस्मा दिति वेदान्तडिण्डिमः ।। ६५ ।।
अविज्ञाते जन्म नष्टं विज्ञाते जन्म सार्थकम् ।
ज्ञातु रात्मा न दूरे स्या दिति वेदान्ताडिण्डिमः ।। ६६ ।।
दशमत्वपरिज्ञाने नाऽऽयासोऽस्ति यथा तथा ।
स्वस्य ब्रह्मात्मविज्ञान मिति वेदान्तडिण्डिमः ।। ६७ ।।

It is a pity that this Prakaraṇa is also still unpublished, though it is completely available in manuscripts.

[92] Gurvashṭaka or Guru-Stuti as it is called in Bṛihat Sankara Vijaya, is a collection of eight beautiful verses in praise of Śaṅkara composed by Vishṇu Śarman, just before he was initiated into Sannyāsa under the sacred appellation of Chitsukha, expressing his sincere admiration for, and supreme devotion to his co-student and Guru, the embodiment of the Spiritual Teacher by whom he was just then initiated into Spiritual Asceticism. The first stanza runs as follows :—

"श्रुतीना माक्रीडः प्रथितपरहंसोचितगति
निजे सत्ये धाम्नि त्रिजगदतिवर्ति न्यभिरतः ।
असौ ब्रह्मै वाऽस्मिन् न खलु विशये किन्तु कलये
बृहे रर्थं साक्षा दनुपचरितं केवलतया ।। १ ।।"

The last stanza is given as follows :—

"दृष्टि यः प्रगुणीकरोति तमसा बाह्येन मन्दीकृतां
नालीकप्रियतां प्रयाति भजते मित्रत्व मव्याहतम् ।

disciple and to initiate him as a Sannyâsin. Sañkara, who already knows his Bhakti and Vairâgya, gladly accepts him as his pupil, makes him go through the formalities and invests him with the red-robe of the Sannâysin under the significant name of Chitsukha. The initiation becomes complete with the impartation to him of the real secret and significance of the Mahâvâkyas of the Upanishads by composing his [93] Mahâvâkya-Vivaraṇa on the lines taught to

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विश्वस्योपकृते विलुम्पति सुहृच्चक्रस्य चार्ति घनां
हंस: सोऽय मभिव्यनक्ति महतां जिज्ञास्य मर्थं मुहु:॥८॥"

Chitsukha concludes the poem with the following stanzas:

"इत्थं संप्रार्थित: सर्वज्ञान ! मां शङ्करोऽञ्जसा ।
विरक्तं चक्षुषा दिव्येनाऽपश्यत् सर्ववस्तुषु ॥
तत: संन्यासविधिना यतिनं मां चकार स: ।
दत्वा श्रीचित्सुखाऽभिख्यां मह्यं देशिकपुङ्गव: ॥
उपादिशच्च वेदान्तं मह्यं वेदान्तडिण्डिमम् ।
अध्यात्मसंन्यासविधिं महावाक्यार्थं मद्भुतम् ॥"

These very stanzas which constitute the Guru-Stuti are found *verbatim* in the 5th Sarga of Mādhava's Sañkara-Vijaya, but without any appropriateness to the subject on hand.

[93] Mahâvâkya-Vivaraṇa or better known as Mahâvâkyârtha-Pañchîkaraṇa, is a small treatise in prose explaining analytically the meaning of the five great passages or Mahâvâkyas of the Upanishads upon which the Advaita Vedānta is based. They are:

I. "तत् त्व मसि" of the Sâma Veda,

II. "अय मात्मा ब्रह्म" of the Adharva Veda,

III. "प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्म" of the Sukla Yajur Veda,

IV. "अहं ब्रह्मा ऽस्मि" of the Kṛishṇa Yajur Veda and

V. "प्रज्ञान मानन्दं ब्रह्म" of the Rig Veda.

him by the Divine Teacher. Both the teacher and the pupil are anxious to go to Benares as directed by the Divine Teacher, but Śaṅkara, who always regarded his Guru as an embodiment of the Spiritual Teacher Himself, first wants to go and pay a visit to Govinda Bhagavatpâda at Badarikâśrama and take his formal permission in the matter. Accordingly both go back to Badarikâśrama and pay their respects to him and Govinda Bhagavatpâda is extremely delighted to

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It is accordingly divided into five Sections and begins with:

"अथातो महावाक्यप्रबोधप्रकारं व्याख्यास्यामः । तत् त्वमसि, अयमात्मा ब्रह्म, प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्म, अहं ब्रह्मा ऽस्मि, प्रज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्म, इत्यौपनिषदानि पञ्च महावाक्यानि । तत्राऽऽदौ सामवेदे तत्त्वमसीति महावाक्यस्य व्याख्यानं क्रियते । अत्र तावत् "तत्त्वमसि" इति महावाक्ये त्रीणि पदानि भवन्ति--तत् त्वम्, असि—इति । तत्पदस्य द्वावर्थौ, वाच्यो लक्ष्य श्चेति । मायाशबलितं ब्रह्म वाच्यार्थः, मायानिर्मुक्तं सत्यज्ञानानन्दरूपं लक्ष्यम् ।" etc.

The work is concluded with the following quotations:

"ब्रह्मैवाहं न संसारी न चाहं ब्रह्मणः पृथक् ।
नाहं देही न संसारी केवलोऽहं सनातनः ।।"

"एक मेवाऽद्वितीयं ब्रह्म, नेह नानाऽस्ति किञ्चन ।" इति श्रुतेः ।

The colophon at the end runs as follows:—"इति श्रीगोविन्दभगवत् पादपूज्यशिष्य श्रीमच्छङ्कराचार्यविरचितं महावाक्यार्थपञ्चीकरणं समाप्तम् ।।"

This work should not be confounded either with the Śaṅkarâśrama's Mahâvâkyârtha-Vivaraṇa published in 15 Siddhântas or with Vidyâraṇya's Mahâvâkya-Vivaraṇa, in explanation of the 12 Mahâvâkyâs or important passages of authority in the Vedas and the Upanishads. So far as we know the genuine work of Śaṅkara is still unpublished.

hear of the marvellous adventures of his disciple at Kailasa and Mahâkailâsa, persuades him to go at once to Benares to proclaim his Advaita Philosophy to the world and blesses him with a happy journey.

Accordingly Śaṅkara prepares himself to go to Benares with his old friend and newly initiated disciple Chitsukha, when to his surprise and disappointment, Agni Śarman a relation of Śaṅkara, turns up with bags of gold and bundles of precious gems from his aged mother Āryâmbâ at Kâlaṭi, and after presenting them to Śaṅkara, informs him that his beloved mother is seriously ill. The news of the declining state of his mother's health upsets all his programme, and though he has resigned all the worlds, Śaṅkara's devotion to his mother makes him long to see his mother at once. He dedicates all the gold and precious gems which were so kindly presented to him by his mother to Lord Nârâyana in re-constructing and repairing the ancient temple of Vishṇu at Badarikâśrama and in setting up [94] the sacred image of Nârâyaṇa which he got from the river Alakanandâ, in the said temple according to Vedic rites. As soon as the Pratishṭhâ is over, Śaṅkara places Agni Śarman in charge of the said temple, which has ever since become a famous place of pilgrimage in the North under the name of [95] Badrinâth, and goes to Kâlaṭi accompanied by

[94] It is stated by Chitsukha that the sacred image of Lord Nârâyaṇa which Śaṅkara set up in the shrine of Badarînâtha newly constructed by him was brought up by him (Śaṅkara) from the bottom of the river Alakanandâ after diving ten times.

[95] The celebrated temple of Badarînâtha (Badrînâth) stands on a peak of the main Himâlayan range in Garhwal District, United Provinces, at a height of 23,210 feet above the sea. This shrine is held in greatest reverence by all classes of Hindus. The God is daily provided with food (Naivedya) in gold and silver vessels said to have been

Chitsukha, his trusted companion and disciple. It is stated that Śaṅkara, before he left Badarikāśrama to see his aged mother, [96] produced a hot-water tank (Ushṇodakasaras), just below the shrine close to the hermitage of his revered Gurus to enable his old master to bathe in water every day in that extremely cold region in his last days of existence.

Anxious to see his aged mother, Śaṅkara hastens through hills and forests and at last arrives at Kâlaṭi, his place of birth. His mother, though extremely weak, was still able to walk about in the house and was extremely glad

endowed to the temple by Śaṅkara himself. The chief priest of the temple, now known there as Rawal is always a Malayâlam Brâhman who claims his descent from Agni Śarman, a relation of Śaṅkara above referred to.

[96] Below the shrine of Badrînâth, a sacred tank still stands on the hillside under the name of Śaṅkara-Pushkaraṇî supplied by a thermal spring by means of a spout in the shape of a dragon's head. Pilgrims of both sexes, sometimes as many as 50,000 persons, visit this temple annually and bathe in the sacred pool.

Referring to this tank at Badarikāśrama, Ānandagiri, in his Prâchîna-Śaṅkara-Vijaya, says as follows:—

तत्राऽस्ति शीतार्दितदेशिकस्य संरक्षणायाऽतुलितप्रभाव: ।
तप्तोदकं प्रार्थयते स्म चन्द्रकलाधारा त्तीर्थकरप्रधान: ।।
कर्मन्दिबृन्दपतिना गिरिशोऽर्थित: सन्
सन्तप्तवारिलहरीं स्वपदारविन्दात् ।
प्रावर्तयत् प्रथयती यतिनाथकीर्ति
याऽद्यापि तत्र समुदञ्चति तप्ततोया ।।"

But Mādhava misapplies these verses and says that the tank in question was created by Śaṅkara at Kedāra to enable his disciples to bathe in water in that cold region. His account is not only clearly opposed to actual facts, but also contradictory to the account given by both Chitsukha and Ānandagiri.

to see her only son in her last days. Setting at naught all the rules appertaining to [97] worldly Sannyâsa, Śaṅkara rushes to his mother, touches her feet in reverence and embraces her with all filial affection and devotion. It is said that at the solicitation of Śaṅkara, the river Chūrṇī itself had changed its course and ran close to his house at Kâlaṭi, so that his aged and declining mother might not be put to the trouble of walking a long distance in order to get herself bathed in the river and so much so that the river itself subsequently came to be called Ambâ-Nadī after his mother. One day, being very ill, A'ryâmbâ desired her son whose fame had already reached her ears, to discourse to her on things that would bring her eternal peace and happiness. Śaṅkara, thereupon, preached to her the essence of his grand Philosophy of the Absolute as expressed in his Tatva-Bodha,[98] in as simple a manner as he put it, but even that was too

[97] Spiritual Asceticism into which Śaṅkara was initiated knows no such restriction. On the other hand, the Skânda Purâṇa makes it imperative even on an ordinary Sannyâsin that he should specially respect the memory of his mother. It lays down :

"संन्यस्ताऽखिलकर्माऽपि पितुर्वन्द्योऽहि मस्करी ।
सर्ववन्द्येन यतिना प्रसू र्वन्द्या प्रयत्नत: ॥"

[98] Tatva-Bodha is a short treatise in simple prose giving a brief summary of the Advaita-Vedânta and begins with :—

"साधनचतुष्टयसंपन्नाधिकारिणां मोक्षसाधनभूतं तत्त्व-विवेकप्रकारं वक्ष्याम: । साधनचतुष्टयं किम्? नित्याऽनित्यवस्तु विवेक:, इहामुत्रार्थफलभोगविराग:, शमदमादिषट्कसंपत्ति:, मुमुक्षुत्वं चेति ।"

The treatise is concluded with the following remarks :

"तथा च, आत्मवित् संसारं तीर्त्वा ब्रह्मानन्द मिहैव प्राप्नोति, "तरति शोक मात्मवित्" इति श्रुते: ।

much for her to grasp in her precarious and semi-conscious state. She desires her son to sing a hymn in praise of Kṛishṇa, the favourite Deity of the place and he accordingly composes and recites his famous hymns called [99] Kṛishṇâshṭaka; and she is extremely delighted to hear it recited by her son, feels perfectly happy and free from all

"तनुं त्यजतु वा काश्यां श्वपचस्य गृहेऽथवा ।
ज्ञानसंप्राप्तिसमये मुक्तोऽसौ विगताशयः ॥" इति स्मृतेश्च ॥

From a stanza found in some of the editions added at the beginning of the work, it is ascribed by some to one Vâsudevandra referred to in the said stanza. The work has been printed at Bombay with a Hindî Tîkâ called Bhâshâ-Vivaraṇa, and the learned editor in his preface (भूमिका) says as follows regarding the author of the work:

"श्रीमद्वेदान्तचार्यपरमपूज्यपादश्रीशङ्कराचार्यप्रणीतं तत्त्वबोधनामक मेतत् प्रकरणम् । एतच्च धर्मार्थकाममोक्षरूपचतुर्विधपुरुषार्थान्तिर्गतमोक्षसाधकवेदान्तशास्त्र मारुरुक्षोः पुरुषस्य प्रथमाधिरोहिणीति सर्वजनावगतम् ।"

[99] Kṛishṇâshṭaka, as the name itself implies, is a short poem in 8 stanzas in praise of Srî Kṛishṇa, and begins as follows:—

"श्रिया श्लिष्टो विष्णुः स्थिरचरपुरु र्वेदविषयो
धियां साक्षी शुद्धो हरि रसुरहन्ताऽब्जनयनः ।
गदी शङ्खी चक्री विमलघनमाली स्थिररुचिः
शरण्यो लोकेश स्तव भवतु कृष्णोऽक्षिविषयः ॥"

Chitsukha concludes this poem with the following stanza:

"इति हरि रखिलात्मा ऽऽराधितः शङ्करेण
श्रुति विशदगुणोऽसौ मातृमाक्षोर्थं माद्यः ।
यतिवरनिकटे श्रीयुक्त आविर्बभूव
स्वगुणवृत उदारः शङ्खचक्राब्जहस्तः ॥"

miseries, blesses Śaṅkara in his grand undertaking, gives up her body like a Yogin and goes away by Archirâdi-Marga to the Abode of the Highest God, from which there is no return.

In the Stotra-Pâṭha-Pustakas, the last line of each of the stanzas is changed as follows: "शरण्यो लोकेशो मम भवतु कृष्णोऽक्षि विषय: ॥" to suit the circumstance of the reader himself.

It is stated in Mâdhava's work, and also referred to in some of the later Śaṅkara-Vijayas that Śaṅkara in order to secure salvation to his dying mother composed a hymn called Śiva-Bhujaṅga-Stotra in praise of Śiva, whereupon His messenger (Śiva-Dûtas) appeared to her in terrific shapes which were too much for her and she refused to go along with them to the world of Śiva. Śaṅkara is then described as having praised Vishṇu by composing a hymn called Vishṇu-Bhujaṅga-Stotra, and his mother was then taken to Vaikunṭha by the messengers of Vishṇu, who were bright-looking and agreeable to her. The whole story appears to us to be silly and most inappropriate to the occasion. Apart from its style which is quite modern and the tenor of its substance which is clearly opposed to Śaṅkara's recognized view, there is nothing in the poem irself to suggest that it could have been composd by Śaṅkara for the spiritual benefit of his mother. The clear reference to Sundaramûrthi Nâyanâr, Siruttoṇda Nâyanâr and other Dravidian Saints in one of its stanzas beginning with: "न शक्नोमि कर्तुं परद्रोहलेशं," etc., conclusively shows that it must be the composition of a much later writer than these Tamil Saints, and it is possible that Abhinava Śaṅkara, who was clearly inclined to Śaivism, was the author of it. With regard to Vishṇu-Bhujaṅga-Stotra, we have not come across any such poem ascribed to any Śaṅkara, and although the commentator of Mâdhavâ's Śaṅkara-Vijaya quotes in full the 14 stanzas beginning with: "अनाद्यन्त माद्य परं तत्व मर्थं" as constituting the Śiva-Bhujaṅga-Stotra, there is not even an attempt by him to suggest what constitutes the Vishṇu-Bhujaṅga-Stotra, and it is quite probable that it is merely mentioned in name to preserve correspondence to the other poem.

Now the mother being dead, Śaṅkara, in fulfilment of his solemn promise made to her at the time of his renunciation, performs all the rites appertaining to her funeral ceremony, by preparing a funeral pyre at the back-yard of his own house in accordance with the ancient and immemorial custom of the Keralîya Brahmans and by placing the body of his mother on it and setting fire to it himself. The [100] Mâtṛi-Stuti which he then composed bears ample testimony to the supreme devotion he had for his aged and beloved mother. Nothing can be more naturally expected of Śaṅkara who had a deep sense of filial affection than that he should have thus honoured the sacred memory of his mother by performing her funeral rites himself. But the opponents of Śaṅkara's school of Vedânta Philosophy, who must have been evidently despised and ridiculed by some of the successors of Śaṅkara who were their contemporaries, have made great capital out of the fact of a Sannyâsin performing the funeral rites of his mother, by questioning the very parentage of Śaṅkara, by inventing the story that he was the issue of an adulterous intercourse of a Brâhman widow with a Chaṇḍâla, that he was from the beginning

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[100] Mâtṛi-Stuti or Mâtṛi-Pañcharatna, as Chitsukha calls it, is a short poem in 5 stanzas composed by Śaṅkara at the time of setting fire to the dead body of his mother, expressive of his supreme devotion to her and begins with the following stanza :—

"आस्तां ताव दियं प्रसूतिसमये दुर्वारशूलव्यथा,
नैरुच्ये तनुशोषणं, मलमयी शय्या च सांवत्सरी ।
एकस्याऽपि न गर्भभारभरणक्लेशस्य यस्याः क्षमो
दातुं निष्कृति मुन्नतोऽपि तनय स्तयै जनन्यै नमः ॥"

The poem is fully given in Chitsukha's Bṛihat Saṅkara Vijaya and stands unrivalled to this day in expressing one's own affection towards his mother.

discarded and out-casted by his relations, that he was an incarnation of a demon called Maṇiman, that he was hunted by his own relations like a heretic and sinner when he attempted to set fire to his adulterous mother, and that he, n order to revenge himself on his heartless relatives, secured the assistance of the local chief and introduced all the Anâcharas (bad practices) now prevailing in Malabar. The later Śaṅkara Vijayas which came into existence after the confusion between A'di Śaṅkara and Abhinava Śaṅkara had arisen, and which were evidently prepared to meet the objections raised in Madhva-Vijaya, Maṇi-Mañjari and such other works, make all sorts of apologies and justifications for the so-called conduct of Śaṅkara, thereby [101] making the confusion worse confounded. Nothing could be more monstrous and absurd than this, and yet it shows how much

[101] In Chitsukhâchârya's Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya and Ânandagiri's Prâchîna Śaṅkara Vijaya, two of the oldest of the biographies of Śaṅkara, there is absolutely no reference to any objection to Śaṅkara's performing the funeral rites of his mother on the part of any of his countrymen or relations either on the score of his being the son of an adulterous Brâhman widow or on the score of his being a Sannyâsin. We find no mention there of his having cursed his relatives or of his having persuaded the local ruler to issue an edict prohibiting those relations from chanting the Vedas and compelling them to burn the dead body of their own house-componds.

Not content with making Śaṅkara responsible for all the Anâchâras now prevailing among the Malabar Brâhmans, some of these spurious accounts like Keralotpatti (Vide pages 28 and 29 of the Malayâlam edition) ascribe to Śaṅkara, the Widow's son, the task of having subdivided the four ancient castes into 72 distinct sects, and of having assigned to them as many distinct dialects, among which are included 'Paringi' (French) and 'Ingris' (English).

Now, as is rightly pointed out by Mr. C. N. Kṛishṇasami Iyer, in his Life and Times of Śrî Śaṅkarâchârya, 'it has been a settled maxim with the Âryan Hindus to regard the unchaste mother, the

hatred and prejudice on the one hand, and fanaticism and bigotry on the other, could do in the matter.

In the meantime a young Brahman by name Sanandana arrives at Kâlaṭi and informs Śaṅkara that his revered Guru Śrî Govinda Bhagavatpâda whom he had left at Badarikâsrama has returned to his hermitage at Amarakanta [102] (Amreshwar) on the bank of the Narmadâ owing to serious illness and that he is very anxious to see him before he quits his body in the world. After enquiring of the young man and of his object in going to him, Śaṅkara accepts Śanandana [103] as his disciple and starts at once to Amareśvara with his two disciples—Chitsukha and Sanandana, and

indebted father, and the idiotic son as among the worst enemies of a man and Śaṅkara would hardly have cared to suffer all the troubles and annoyance that he did on his mother's account, if she had not deserved that amount of sacrifice and final love on his part, even when such sacrifice was unnecessary according to the strict letter of the law.'

The fact that the chief priest of the Shrine of Badarinâth built by Śaṅkâra more than 2400 years ago has always been a Malayâli Brâhman gives a direct lie to the story that Śaṅkara was looked upon by his countrymen and relatives as a heretic. Further the practice of burning the dead among the Malayâli Brahmans in a corner of their own house-compound is not looked down upon as an Anâchâra by the Nambûdris, but on the other hand they regard the custom as a most ancient and immemorial one, and as sanctioned by the Smṛitis.

102 Amarakânta or Amareśvara (the modern Amreshwar) is a sacred place of pilgrimage on the southern bank of the Narmadâ about 7 miles from the Mortakka Station on the Râjputana-Mâlwa Railway. The temple of Âmareśvara is said to have been built in the time of Mahâbhârata and is much resorted to by pilgrims.

103 According to Chitsukha, Ânandagiri and other ancient biographers of Śaṅkara, Sanandana is described as the son of Mâdhava and Lakshmî, a pious Brâhman pair belonging to a wealthy and learned

manages to arrive in the course of a month at his Guru's hermitage.

There in the island of Mândhâtâ formed on the Vaidūryamaṇi-Parvata in the middle of the Narmadâ, *Sankara*

family at Ahobala, famous for its temple of Srî Lakshmî-Narasihma. He is said to have been born by the grace of that God and turns out to be an extremely intelligent child. But his parents die while he is very young and he is brought up and educated by his maternal uncle Divakarâdhvarin, a disciple of Prabhâkarâchârya, the great advocate of the Atheistic School of Pūrva-Mîmâmsa. He soon becomes proficient in all the Laukika and Vaidika literatures of his day and is married against his wish to the daughter of his maternal uncle. The young man cannot agree with his uncle in his views of Philosophy and finds his life with his newly married wife most unhappy. He soon quarrels with his uncle, abandons his home and wealth, and goes about in search of Guru who will be able to teach him Adhyâtma-vidyâ. While he was at Prayâga on one day dissatisfied with the teachings of Prabhâkarâchârya himself, the God Narasihma appears to him in a dream and directs him to seek Sankara as his Guru. He accordingly goes to Badarikâsrama in search of Sankara, but to his disappointment he finds his Guru, Govinda Bhagavatpâda, just starting with his disciples to go to his hermitage on the bank of the Narmadâ and learns that Sankara had already gone to Kâlaṭi to attend on his dying mother. He is then informed that Govinda Bhagavatpâda is very ill and follows him as far as Amaresvara, where he takes his leave and comes all alone to Kâlaṭi in search of the Guru ordained to him by the Lord. Sankara is very much pleased with the account of the young man, accepts him as one of his chief disciples and promises to teach him his Bhâshya on the Vedânta Philosophy and initiates him as a Sannyâsin after he goes back to his Guru whom he is very anxious to see alive.

The authors of Keralîya Sankara Vijaya and Sankara Vijaya Vilâsa agree with Chitsukha and other ancient biographers with regard to the account given of Sanandana by them, but they introduce him to Sankara at Badarikâsrama before Sankara leaves that place for Kâlaṭi to attend to his mother's spiritual benefit and makes him receive Sannyâsa from the hands of Sankara at Badarikâsrama itself. They both state that Sanandana's family name was Vishṇu Sarman, but while the

finds his aged and revered Guru, Govinda Bhagavatpâda, lying on his death-bed surrounded by his devoted son Bhartṛihari and his other loving disciples anxiously watching the last moments of his mundane existence as a Yogin, and is deeply moved at the pitiable sight of his teacher who had already lost his consciousness. It was the Pūrṇîmâ (Full-Moon) day of the month of Kârtika of the year 2646 of the Yudhishṭhira Śaka, and on hearing the sweet voice of Śaṅkara crying by his side, Govinda Bhagavatpâda suddenly recovers his senses, rises up like a strong healthy man from his bed, embraces Śaṅkara with his arms, exhorts him to undertake his victorious tour (Dig-Vijaya) throughout India to establish his Advaita Philosophy in the world, orders his pupils to follow Śaṅkara in future as their master, imparts to them his last lesson on the duties of a Sannyâsin called [104] Turiyâśrama Dharmopadeśa, blesses Śankara once more

former makes him son of Somaśarman, a native of the village of Srî Kuṇḍa in Kerala, the latter represents him as son of Mâdhava a native of Ahobala in Kurnool District. Sadânanda and Mâdhava, on the other hand, represent him as a native of some place in the Tanjore District on the bank of the Kâverî in the country of the Cholas and introduce him to Saṅkara only after he goes to Benares; but it is somewhat curious that Sanandana should be described by them as Saṅkara's first Sishya, while they describe him as possessing many other disciples before Sanandana goes to him. Evidently some of these later biographers of Saṅkara have made a confusion between Chitsukha and Sanandana, and have practically reduced them to a single individual.

[104] The Turîyâśrama Dharmopadeśa, according to the Chitsukha's Bṛihat Saṅkara Vijaya consists of 12 verses and begins with the following stanzas:

"ब्रह्मचर्याश्रमे खिन्नो गुरुशुश्रूषणे रतः ।
वेद नधीत्यानुज्ञात उच्यते गुरुणाश्रमी ॥ १ ॥

and ensures him success in his grand undertaking and quietly passes away from the world, [105] Yogin as he was, uttering the sacred syllable Om (Praṇava) as his last word on this earth.

दार माहृत्य सदृश मग्नि माधाय शक्तितः ।
ब्राह्मी मिष्टि यजे त्तासा महोरात्रेण निर्वपेत् ॥ २ ॥"

The work is concluded with the following stanzas :—

"कुण्डिकां चमसं शिक्यं त्रिविष्टप मुपानहम् ।
शीतोपघातिनीं कन्थां कौपीनाच्छादनं तथा ॥ ७ ॥
पवित्रं स्नानशाटीं तु चोत्तरासङ्गदण्डके ।
अतोऽतिरिक्तं यत्किञ्चित् सर्वं त द्वर्जये द्यतिः ॥ ८ ॥
नदीपुलिनशायी स्या द्देवागारेषु बाह्यतः ।
नात्यर्थं सुखदुःखाभ्यां शरीर मुपतापयेत् ॥ ९ ॥
स्नानं ध्यानं तथा शौच मद्भिः पूताभि राचरेत् ।
स्तूयमानो न तुष्येत निन्दितो न शपेत् परान् ॥ १० ॥
हिरण्यानि पात्राणि कृष्णायसमयानि च ।
यतीनां ता न्यपात्राणि वर्जये त्तानि भिक्षुकः ॥ ११ ॥
भिक्षाटनं जपः शौचं स्नानं ध्यानं सुरार्चनम् ।
कर्तव्यानि षडेतानि सर्वदा नृपदण्डवत् ॥ १२ ॥"

[106] Speaking of the Brahmībhâva of Govinda Bhagavatpâda, Chitsukha writes as follow :—

"इत्थं प्रशास्य प्रवयाः स्वशिष्यान् शङ्करानुगान् ।
नियोज्य शङ्कराचार्यं मद्वैतस्थापने गुरुः ॥
सोऽहमस्मीति निश्चित्य विसृज्येतरकांक्षितान् ।
ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म ध्याय न्नन्तः परं शिवम् ॥
शास्त्रश्रुत्यङ्गनेत्राब्दे युधिष्ठिरशकस्य वै ।
प्लवङ्गे कार्तिके मासि पूर्णिमायां गुरो दिने ॥

As soon as the ceremonies connected with the Siddhi of Govinda Bhagavatpâda are over, and his body is interred in a Samâdhi[106] constructed by the disciples for the time being, Sanandana respectfully approaches Sankara and requests him to initiate him into the mysteries of the Advaita

श्रीमद्गौडपदाचार्यशिष्यो योगविदां वरः ।
गोविन्दभगवत्पादः सिद्धिं संप्राप संयमी ॥"

(Bṛihat Saṅkara Vijaya, Prakaraṇa 52.)

[106] It is stated by Chitsukhâchârya, in his Bṛihat Saṅkara Vijaya, that when the wonderful news of the Siddhi (death) of Govinda Bhagavatpâda reached the ears of Srîharsha Vikramâditya, the then Emperor of Ujjayini, he proceeded to the island of Mândhâtâ in Amareśvara on the bank of the Narmadâ where the sacred body of his revered father was interred by his disciples and in memory of his sacred name whose last word was Oṅkâra, caused the great temple of Oṅkâranâtha erected over his Samâdhi. Compare also the following verse of Patañjali Charitra (VIII-72)

"गोविन्दस्य त्रतिकुलगुरोः सिद्धिं माकर्ण्य कृत्वा
यत् कर्तव्यं तदपि वररुच्यादयो भ्रातर स्ते ।
स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यवहितधियो विद्यया कीर्तिमन्त
श्चत्वारोऽपि स्थिति मभिमता मुज्जयिन्या मकुर्वन् ॥"

We are told by reliable persons that the great shrine of Oṅkâranâtha constructed by Srîharsha Vikramâditya in memory of his sacred father, is even to this day considered by the Hindus as one of their most sacred places of pilgrimage and that a grand festival is celebrated every year in this shrine on the Pūrnimâ day of the month of Kârtika in memory of the great day on which Govinda Bhagavatpâda attained his Brahmîbhâva. It is said that this festival attracts over 15,000 devotees from all parts of the country who consider the sanctity of the Narmadâ on this day of the year above that of any other river, and say that while it requires 3 days bathing in the Sarasvatî 7 days in the Yamuna and 1 day in Gaṅga, the mere sight of the Narmadâ at this place suffices to make men pure.

Philosophy. Śankara accordingly admits him into the sacred order of Sannyāsins, invests him with the Kāshāya-robe of an ascetic and teaches him the essence of his Philosophy by composing his famous Vedāntic poem known as [107] Atma-Bodha for the benefit of his newly initiated disciple and also for the instruction of the Śishyas of Govinda Bhagavatpāda who had now become his own

[107] Ātma-Bodha is one of the Vedântic Poems or Prakaraṇas written by Śaṅkara at Amareśvara on the bank of the Narmadâ after he had composed his Shoḍaśa Bhâshyas on the Prasthânatraya, elucidating the nature of the Soul and its oneness with the Supreme Self. It consists of 68 stanzas beginning with:

"तपोभि: क्षीणपापानां शान्तानां वीतरागिणाम् ।
मुमुक्षूणा मपेक्ष्योऽय मात्मबोधो विधीयते ॥"

The concluding stanza runs as follows:—

"दिग्देशकालाद्यनपेक्ष्य सर्वगं
शीतादिहृन्नित्यसुखं निरञ्जनम् ।
य: स्वात्मतीर्थं भजते विनिष्क्रिय:
स सर्ववित् सर्वगतोऽमृतो भवेत् ॥"

Chitsukha says that Sanandana who afterwards become known as Padmapâdâcharya wrote a commentary on this grand Prakaraṇa which was specially composed by Śaṅkara for his benefit, and even to this day we have his commentary on Ātma-Bodha Prakaraṇa called Vedânta Sâra in the shape of manuscripts in many of the libraries of India. The poem is also available with a commentary called Dîpika by Viśveśvara Paṇḍita, but both these commentaries are still unpublished. Only the text has been printed in the Devanâgarî character. There is however a Telugu edition which contains not only the Text, but also a Telugu commentary called Ātma-Bodha-Prakâsikā, written by Purṇam Kṛishṇa Śâstri. The text is also available with translation in English and Tamil.

disciples. The initiation [108] of Sanandana being over, Śankara desires to start on his triumphal töur and all the disciples express their willingness to follow him in his Universal Conquest of Religions and Philosophies of the world.

Protected with the armour of Vairāgya, armed with the shield of Jñāna, holding the bow of Pranava-Dhyāna, ready with various kinds of arrows in the form of Śama, Dama, etc., equipped with guns of Prasthānatraya-Bhāshyas, furnished with weapons of Vedāntic poems, the King of the Ascetics prepares himself for his Universal Philosophic War and starts on his triumphal march from Amareśvara, the present small capital of his spiritual kingdom with his ever-devoted Chitsukha as his aid-de-camp, with his all-wise Sanandana as his commander-in-chief, and with the host of his loving disciples as his soldiers. The first place that attracted his attention as deserving his visit was Prayāga, the most ancient seat of learning among the A'ryas ever since the time of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, but which since the time that Gautama Buddha began to preach on its sacred soil, had been reduced to an insignificient dependency under the despotic sway of his bigoted and ignorant followers and Śankara accordingly arrives at Prayāga (the modern Allahabad) where the Tîrtha-Rāja, [109] the king of the

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[108] According to Chitsukha and Ānandagiri, the initiation of Sanandana into Sannyâsa by Śaṇkara took place in the island of Mândhâtâ on the Narmadâ where Govindā Bhagavatpâda attained his Brahmîbhâva and Śaṅkara starts on his triumphal tour (Dig Vijaya) from this place. Of the later biographers of Śaṅkara, some place this incident at Badarikâśrama, and some at Benares from which Śaṅkara is said to have started on his Universal Conquest of Religions.

[109] Prayâga is the name by which modern Allahabad was known in ancient Hindu writings such as the Râmâyaṇa and the Mahâbhârata.

shrines shines in his glory, with the two noble-born maids—the Rivers Gangā and Yamunā—waving their white and blue *chowries* on either side of him, and with the Imperishable Holy Banyan Tree (Akshaya-Vaṭa) serving as the azure-coloured royal umbrella over his head.

It was the Māghi Amāvāsya day[110] one of the most important days of Māgha-Mela, and Śankara is immensely pleased with the sight of Prayāga which he wishes to restore to its former greatness by firmly establishing his Advaita Philosophy there. He accordingly goes with his disciples, bathes at the confluence of the rivers Gangā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī know as [111]Triveṇī and as a dutiful son and

According to one tradition, it was so called because the God Brahmā of the Hindu Trinity had performed many sacrifices here and it is hence called Prajāpati-Kshetra. The following is the etymological meaning of the word Prayāga as given in the Skānda Purāna :—

"प्रकृष्टं सर्वयागेभ्य: प्रयाग मिति गीयते ।
दृष्ट्वा प्रकृष्टं यागेभ्य: पुष्टेभ्यो दक्षिणादिभि: ।
प्रयाग मिति तन्नाम कृतं हरिहरादिभि: ।।"

It bears the title of Tīrtha-Rāja, the holy of the holy places, because according to a legend when all the holy shrines were placed on one scale and Prayāga on the other, the former kicked the beam.

110 The great Māgha-Mela days are Makara-Sankrānti, Maghī-Amāvāsyā, Māghī-Pūrṇimā and Māghi-Śukla-Pañchami. Of these, the Māghī-Amāvāsya (the New-moon day of the month of Māgha) is considered very sacred for Pitṛis, when the offering of water and Piṇḍa to one's deceased ancestors is considered a pious duty of every pilgrim.

111 Triveṇī is the name given to the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Jumna. It literally means the three-braided or the three-streamed. Its two braids are visible in the streams of the Ganges and

disciple he offers oblations of water (Tarpaṇa) to his mother and Guru to enable them both to attain eternal happiness. After visiting the various [112] sacred places at Prayāga, Śankara goes to [113] Bharadvājāśrama, the Hermitage of Bharadvāja, the great Kulapati [114] whose generous hospitality Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Sitā with their host of Vānaras and Rākshasas enjoyed when they halted at Prayāga on their way to Chitrakūṭa and determines to stay there for sometime to preach his Philosophy to the citizens of that place. It was at this time that Śaṅkara is said to have composed

the Jumna, but there has been the tradition of a third river Sarasvatī meeting there. The Brâhma Purâṇa says:—

"गङ्गायमुनयो र्मध्ये अन्तस्सलिल यत्र सरस्वती ।
तस्या दर्शनमात्रेण पूतो भवति पातकी ॥
प्रकृष्टत्वात् प्रयागोऽसौ प्राधान्या द्राजशब्दवान् ।
तीर्थराजप्रयागस्य दर्शनं भुवि दुर्लभम् ॥"

[112] The Prayâga-Mâhâtmya enumerates the following as the chief places which the pilgrims are enjoined to visit:—

"त्रिवेणीं, माधवं, सोमं, भरद्वाजं च वासुकिम् ।
वन्देऽक्षयवटं, शेषं, प्रयागे तीर्थनायकम् ॥"

[113] The grounds around Bharadvâja's Temple is pointed out even to day as the Hermitage of Bharadvâja. In the days of the Râmâyaṇa, the hermitage is said to have been situated on the bank of the Ganges, but the river seems to have receded from its former course since these days and it is now situated in the quarter called Colonelganj in the Katra ward of the Municipality.

[114] The sage Bharadvâja was a Kulapati. A Kulapati of old, as the following stanza describes,

"मुनीनां दशसाहस्त्रं यो ऽन्नदानादिपोषणात् ।
अध्यापयति विप्रर्षिः स वै कुलपतिः स्मृतः ॥"

some of his minor poems such as [115]Prayāgāshṭaka, [116]Yamu-

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was one who provided education to ten thousand pious students and gave them free board and lodgings. As has been well pointed out in a recent book called 'Prayag or Allahabad' published by the Modern Review Office at Calcutta, "it would follow that the grounds around Bharadvâja's abode was the seat of a local university at Prayâg. What a coincidence that after so many centuries the neighbourhood of Bharadvâja Muni's Temple has become the seat of the University of Allahabad and of the Premier Government College of the Province and of the Boarding Houses and Hostels of hundreds of residential students! The Spirit of Learning, an Indian poet may well sing, did not like to abandon her old haunts and has come back again." It deserves to be pointed out that it was at this hermitage that Lord Buddha first preached his Dharma about 2000 B.C.; and that Sankara who came nearly 1500 years after his time, also first began to preach his Philosophy to the world on this very sacred place as the World's Great Teacher.

[115] Prayâgâshṭaka, as the name itself implies, is a collection of 8 stanzas in praise of Prayâga and begins as follows :—

" सितासिते यत्र तरङ्गचामरे नद्यौ विभातो मुनिभानुकन्यके ।
लीलातपत्रं वट एव साक्षात् स तीर्थराजो जयति प्रयागः ॥"

Chitsukha in his Bṛihat Sankara Vijaya winds up the Ashṭaka with the following verse :

" पुर्यः सप्त प्रसिद्धाः प्रतिवचनकरी स्तीर्थराजस्य नार्यो
वैकट्यान्मुक्तिदाने प्रभवति गुरुणा कास्यते ब्रह्म यस्याम् ।
सेयं रात्रीप्रधाना प्रियवचनकरी मुक्तिदानेन युक्ता
येन ब्रह्माण्डमध्ये स जयति सुतरां तीर्थराजः प्रयागः ॥"

In the Stotra-Pustakas, a Prayâgâshṭaka is given containing some of these stanzas and is said to be taken from Matsya-Purâṇa.

[116] Yamunâshṭaka is a collection of 8 stanzas in praise of Yamunâ (Jumna) and begins as follows :—

" मुरारिकायकालिमाललामवारिधारिणी
तृणीकृतत्रिविष्टपा त्रिलोकशोकहारिणी ।

nāshṭaka, [117] Mādhavāshṭaka, [118] Lakshmi-Nṛisihma-Pañcha-

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मनोनुकूलकूलकुञ्जपुञ्जधूतदुर्मदा
धुनोतु नो मनोमलं कलिन्दनन्दिनी सदा ॥"

This is not to be confounded with the other Yamunâshṭaka, beginning with "कृपापारावारां" etc., composed by Śaṅkara at Mathurâ.

[117] Mâdhavâshṭaka is a collection of 8 stanzas in praise of Vishṇu, said to have been composed by Śaṅkara on the occasion of his visit to the Temple of Ādi Mâdhava, situated on the southern bank of the Yamunâ, opposite the confluence. The first stanza, according to Chitsukha, begins as follows :—

"अच्युतं केशवं सत्यभामाधवं माधवं श्रीधरं राधिकाराधितम् ।
इन्दिरामन्दिरं चेतसा सुन्दरं देवकीनन्दनं नन्दजं सन्दधे ॥"

The last stanza runs as follows :—

"कुञ्चितैः कुन्तलै भ्राजमानाननं रत्नमौलिं लसत्कुण्डलं गण्डयोः ।
हारकेयूरकं कङ्कणप्रोज्वलं किङ्किणीमञ्जुलं माधवं सन्दधे ॥"

In the Stotra-Pustakas, the order of the stanzas is somewhat different and the Ashṭaka itself is variously called Achutâshṭaka or Mâdhavâshṭaka.

[118] Lakshmî-Nṛisihma-Pañcharatna is a collection of 5 stanzas in praise of Lakshmî-Narasihma said to have been composed by Śaṅkara when he visited God Nṛisihma in the Pâtâlapurî Temple at Prayâga. The first stanza runs as follows :

"त्वत्प्रभुजीवप्रियमिच्छसि चे न्नरहरिपूजां कुरु सततं
प्रतिबिम्बालङ्कृतिधृतिकुशलो बिम्बालङ्कृति माधव ते ।
चेतोभृङ्ग भ्रमसि वृथा भवमरुभूमौ निरसायां
भज भज लक्ष्मीनरसिह्मश्रीनखपदसरसिजमकरन्दम् ॥"

The last stanza is given as follows :—

"तव हित मेकं वचनं वक्ष्ये शृणु सुखकामो यदि सततं,
स्वप्ने दृष्टं सकलं हि मृषा जाग्रति च स्मर तद्व दिति ।

ratna and [119]Vedasāra-Śiva-Stotra.

In that ancient centre of learning, Śankara soon distinguishes himself in dialectics and philosophy and begins to propound his Bhāshyas on the Vedānta Sūtras, the Upanishads and the Bhagavatgîtā to his numerous disciples. In a short time, his fame as a great Vedāntic teacher reaches the nook and corner of Āryāvarta and intelligent men [120] from

चेतोभृङ्ग भ्रमसि वृथा भवमरुभूमौ निरसायां,
भज भज लक्ष्मीनरसिंह्यश्रीनखपदसरसिजमकरन्दम्॥"

[119] Vedasâra-Siva-Stotra, or Someśvarâshtaka as Chitsukha calls it, is a collection of 8 stanzas in praise of Śiva, said to have been composed by Śaṅkara at Prayâga when he visited the Temple of Someśvara Mahâdeva situated on the south bank of the Ganges at a short distance east of Ādi Mâdhava. The first stanza runs as follows:—

"पशूनां पतिं पापनाशं, गजेन्द्रस्य कृत्तिं वसानं वरेण्यम् ।
जटाजूटमध्ये स्फुरद्गाङ्गवारिं, महादेव मेकं भजे सोमनाथम्॥१॥

The last stanza runs as follows:—

"नमस्ते नमस्ते विभो विश्वमूर्ते, नमस्ते नमस्ते चिदानन्दमूर्ते ।
नमस्ते नमस्ते तपोयोगगम्य, नमस्ते नमस्ते श्रुतीनामगम्य॥२॥"

In the Stotra-Pustakas, three more stanzas beginning with "प्रभो शूलपाणे" are found added at the end of the poem, but they are not given by Chitsukha in his Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya.

[120] Śaṅkara Vijaya Vilâsa which mainly follows Chitsukha's work, mentions Vishṇugupta, Śuddhakîrti, Bhânumarîchi, Kṛishṇadarśana, Viriñchicharaṇa and Buddhivṛiddhi as the more important of the distinguished scholars that resorted to him for instruction. After describing Śaṅkara's arrival at Prayâga, Chidvilâsa says:—

"ततः प्रयाग मासाद्य सद्यः श्रेयःप्रदं नृणाम् ।
त्रिवेण्यः सुकृतश्रेण्या मघसृण्या मनुक्षणम् ॥

various quarters come to him almost every day and seek admission as his pupils to study the Vedānta Philosophy under him. Śankara would go with his disciples early in the morning to bathe at Triveṇi, and as soon as his Anushṭhāna was over, he would return to Bharadvājāśrama with them and propound his Bhāshyas and Prakaraṇas to them. In the afternoon, he would hold discussions with his disciples, answer all their queries and clear all their doubts. In this way Śankara has been spending his at time Prayāga.

On one of these days Śaṅkara went out with his disci-

स्नात्वैव जननीमोक्षसाधनानि समाहितः ।
ततान देशिकस्याऽपि मोक्षसाम्राज्यसंपदम् ॥
पाठयन् ब्रह्मसूत्रार्थबोधकं भाष्य मन्वहम् ।
भाष्यं दशोपनिषदामन्यासां च सविस्तरम् ।
श्रीमद्भगवदुक्ताया गीताया भाष्य मुत्तमम् ।
शिष्यान् विपश्चितो विप्रान् नानादेश समागतान् ।
कञ्चित् काल मुवासाऽथ बोधयन् ससनन्दनः ॥
आसेतुहिमवच्छैलं कीर्ति र्व्याप्ता गुरो रथ ।
भाष्य मन्धेतुकामा ये विशुद्धाद्वैतबोधकम् ॥
मुनयो बहवो याता नानाक्षेत्रनिवासिनः ।
समित्पाणि र्विष्णुगुप्तः, शुद्धकीर्ति र्मुनीश्वरः ॥
धीमान् भानुमरीचि श्च, कृष्णदर्शननामवान् ।
विरिञ्चिचरणो योगी, बुद्धिवृद्धि रथाऽपरः ॥
इत्याद्या मुनिवर्या स्तं शङ्कराचार्य मन्वयुः ॥"

Chitsukha adds to this many more names such as Driḍhabhakta Medhâtithi, Nityânanda, Yogânanda, Bhâratîvamśa, Subodha and Samati.

ples to see the Akshayavaṭa, [121] when to his disappointment he found an orthodox young Brāhman at the foot of the tree trying to put an end to his life. He was completely affected with leprosy. His body was horribly white like a pumpkin gourd and his eyes had lost all their power of sight. He looked like an owl and could not face the sun. Out of sheer shame and in order to avoid the sight of his countrymen he wanted to commit this act of suicide, when to his fortune he saw before his eyes Śankara with his disciples like the Great Teacher Mahādeva with his host of hoary devotees. He cried to Śankara for mercy and protection and Śankara's heart was deeply moved with pity. Śankara touched him with his hands, and the man was perfectly cured. Miraculously enough all the marks of leprosy on the body of the young Brāhman had disappeared and he was perfectly able to look at all things. In fact, he became a most charming young man and people exclaimed at him as Udanka, as one

[121] The Akshaya-Vaṭa or the Imperishable Banyan Tree, is one of the most prominently associated with Prayâga from the most ancient times. It is the "Śyama-Vaṭa" to which Sîtâ prayed mentioned in the Ayodhyâkâṇḍa of the Râmâyaṇa. The Chinese traveller Hiouen Tsang speaks to its existence in the 7th century A. D. The construction of Allahabad Fort by Akbar in 1584 A.D. doomed it. But the Imperishable Tree still holds its own ground. Inside the Fort, in the underground building called Pâtâlapuri, pilgrims are still shown its relics. Numberless human beings in past ages ended their lives by flinging themselves from that tree down below in the hope of acquiring in their next incarnation what they wished for at the moment of death. Compare the stanzas from Kâsî-Khaṇḍa:

"तत्राक्षय्यवटो योऽस्ति ससपातालमूलवान् ।
प्रलयेऽपि यमारुह्य मृकण्डुतनयोऽवसत् ॥
हिरण्यगर्भो विज्ञेयः स साक्षा द्वटरूपधृक् ।
तत्समीपे द्विजान् भकत्या संभोज्याक्षय्युपुण्यभाक् ॥

deprived of all the marks of leprosy. The young man requested Śankara to initiate him into the mysteries of the Vedānta Philosophy and to admit him as one of his disciples. Śankara soon found out that he was fully qualified to receive instructions in the Vedānta and that he had been reduced to this pitiable condition owing to his want of belief in his Guru. Within the time required for composing a single verse called Ekaśloka, [122] Śankara made him realize

अकामो वा सकामो वा वटमूले मुनीश्वराः ।
शीघ्रं प्राणान् प्रमुञ्चेत यदीच्छेत् परमां गतिम् ॥"

[122] Ekaśloka is the name given to a single stanza. said to have been addressed to Udaṅka, a leper, by Saṅkara with a view to liberate him from the bondage of recurring births by imparting to him the knowledge of the Vedânta. The following is that famous stanza:

"किं ज्योति स्तव? भानुमा नहनि मे, रात्रौ प्रदीपादिकं,
स्या देवं! रविदीपदर्शनविधौ किं ज्योति राख्याहि मे?।
चक्षुः, तस्य निमीलनादिसमये किं? धीः, धियोदर्शने
किं? तत्राऽहं, अतो भवान् परमकं ज्योतिः! त दस्मि प्रभो ॥"

There is a beautiful commentary on this celebrated verse called Tatva-Dîpana by Svayamprakâśa Yogîndra, a disciple of Gopâla Yogîndra. As to the origin of the poem, the learned commentator says as follows:

"इह खलु भगवान् सर्वज्ञ श्चन्द्रचूडावतारो,
"अष्टवर्षे चतुर्वेदी द्वादशे सर्वशास्त्रवित् ।
षोडशे कृतवान् भाष्यं द्वात्रिंशे मुनि रत्यगात् ॥"

इत्यादिगुणविशिष्टो भगवदभिधानो दुर्वादिदर्वीकरमन्त्रराजः शङ्कराचार्यः, तीर्थैरिव त्रिभुवनं पावयन्, सद्वैद्यैरिव संरक्षन्, चन्द्र इवाऽऽप्याययन्, कल्याणचरितै रत्नैरिवाऽलङ्कुर्वन्, शश्वद्विश्वं विचचार । तत्र कदाचिद् ग्रामविशेषे कूश्माण्डमिव पाण्डुराङ्गं,

his own self by putting to him a series of questions and getting out appropriate answers from his own mouth. He then admitted him into the order of Sannyāsins under the very name Udanka by which he was hailed by the wondering crowd when he was cured of his leprosy and the young man ever since that time became one of the staunch disciples of Śankara.

On another day Śankara had been with his disciples to Pratishṭhāna-puri, [128] the ancient capital of the kings of the

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उलूकमिव सूर्यावलोकनाक्षमं, लज्जयाजनावलोकनाक्षमं 'मां त्राहि त्राहि' इति पुनः पुनः प्रणमन्तं कञ्चन कुष्ठिनं साधनचतुष्टय-संपन्न मालोक्य, परमकारुणिकत्वेन ताव देनं संसारसङ्कटान् मोचयन्, कृतार्थीकुर्या मिति निश्चित्य,

"तेषा महं समुद्धर्ता मृत्युसंसारसागरात् ।"

इति प्रतिज्ञापरिपालनार्थं तथाचकार । तदुपदेशवचनं लोकपरि-पालनार्थं मेव "अस्तमित आदित्ये, याज्ञवल्क्य, चन्द्रमस्यस्तमिते, शान्तेऽग्नौ, शान्तायां वाचि, किं ज्योतिरेवाऽयं पुरुष इति, आत्मै-वाऽस्य ज्योति र्भवतीति—आत्मनै-वाऽयं ज्योतिषाऽस्ते, पल्ययते, कर्मकुरुते, विपल्येतीति—कतम आत्मेति, योऽयं विज्ञानमयः प्राणेषु हृद्यन्तर्ज्योतिः पुरुषः ।" इति बृहदारण्यकषष्ठाध्यायानिष्ठजनक याज्ञवल्क्यसंवादरूपज्योतिर्ब्राह्मणवाक्यार्थं मनसि निधाय, प्रश्नो-त्तरश्लोकरूपेण निबबन्ध । तत्र प्रश्नव्याजेन तद्वाक्येनैव तत्त्वं बोधयितुं तमेव शिष्यं पृच्छति 'किं ज्योति स्तव' इत्यादिना ।"

The poem and the story of Udaṅka are given in Chitsukhâchârya's Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya where the stanza is known under the name of Ekaśloki. The stanza is so given in the Telugu Edition of a book containing Śaṅkara's Aparokshânubhûti; but the commentary is still unpublished.

[123] Pratishṭhāna-purî just forms the eastern boundary of Prayâga. It is now known as Jhunsi, a small village situated alongside the Ganges,

Lunar dynasty, where Prabhākarāchârya, one of the distinguished disciples of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the celebrated advocate of Pūrva-Mîmāmsā, lived with his own select followers, advocating a new school of Karma-Mîmâmsā distinct from that of his Guru's. Out of rivalry with his own preceptor, Prabhākara set at naught all those who did not perform sacrifices and other religious duties; and promulgated that *Karma* alone, as enjoined in the Vēdas, was the end and aim of all the Sāstras. According to him, there is, in fact, no Superior Deity other than what is aimed at by the use of the ending of the dative case.

opposite the Allahabad Fort, Akbar's bund and Daraganj. Pratishṭhâna is mentioned in some of the oldest works of Sânskrit Literature and the great poet Kâlidâsa lays the scene of his play Vikramorvaśîya in Pratishṭhâna. How long Pratishṭhâna continued to flourish as a capital of ruling kings one cannot say. At the time of Śaṅkara, Pratishṭhâna had not lost its name, and it continued to be a famous Brâhmaṇâgrahâra under the name of Śrî Vallî, until it was destroyed by a conflagration leaving only its ruins which ever since that time went by the name of Jhunsi—the burnt village—from the Hindi root *Jhausana*, to be burnt. Referring to this Agrahâra which he is not able to indentify, Mâdhava writes in his Śaṅkara Vijaya as follows:—

"श्रयतिस्म ततोऽग्रहारकं श्री-वलिसंज्ञं स कदाचन स्वशिष्यैः ।
अनुगेहहुताग्निहोत्रदुग्ध-प्रसरत्पावनगन्धलोभनीयम् ॥
यतोऽपमृत्यु र्बहिरेव याति भ्रान्त्वा प्रदेशं शनकै रलब्ध्वा ।
दृष्ट्वा द्विजाती न्निजकर्मनिष्ठान् दूरा न्निषिद्धं त्यजतोऽप्रमत्तान् ॥
यस्मिन् सहस्रद्वितयं जनाना मग्न्याहितानां श्रुतिपाठकानाम् ।
वसत्यवश्यं श्रुतिचोदितासु क्रियासु दक्षं प्रथितानुभावम् ॥
तत्र द्विजः कश्चन शास्त्रवेदी प्रभाकराख्यः प्रथितानुभावः ।
प्रवृत्तिशास्त्रैकरतः सुबुद्धि रास्ते क्रतून्मीलितकीर्तिवृन्दः ॥"

On hearing the arrival of Sankara with his disciples at his own Agrahāra, [124] Prabhākarâdhvarin elated with the superiority of his own view of Karma-Mīmāmsâ and desirious of converting Sankara also into his own faith, goes out to Sankara with numerous orthodox followers and impresses upon him the importance of his own School of Pūrva-Mîmâmsā Philosophy. Sankara calmly argues with him, taking his opponent's own stand point and in a few hours convinces him that Jñāna or the Knowledge of the Supreme Brahman alone is the final means for attaining Mōksha and that *Karma* or the adherence to the duties enjoined in the Vēdas is only a means to attain purity of heart (Chitta-śuddhi) which leads to Parā-Bhakti or Supreme Devotion to the Lord and which, in its turn, leads to Jñāna or the knowledge of the oneness of the individual soul with the supreme Soul (Brahmātmaikya-Jñāna) by which alone Mukti or the attainment of the state of Brahman by the Jîvas can be realized.

The result is that no only Prabhākara becomes a disciple of Sankara, but the whole of his Agrahāra (Pratishṭhāna) is converted into Sankara's faith. Prabhākara who

[124] In all the ancient biographies of Sankara, the great advocate of the Atheistic School of Pūrva-Mîmāmsā and the father of the renowned Hastāmalaka to be described hereafter, is known only under this name: Sankara Vijaya Vilāsa calls him Divākaradhvarin. The Kēralîya Sankara Vijaya, on the other hand, mentions one Siva as the father of Hastāmalaka; and represents him as a native of a Brāhmaṇāgarahāra called Siva-Vihāra and describes Hastāmalaka as having become a disciple of Sankara after Surēśvara's conversion. Mādhava and Sadānanda agree with the ancient biogrophers and represent Hastāmalaka as the son of Prabhākarācharya, though they also place the conversion of Hastāmalaka, after that of Surēśvara.

had already heard the fame of Śankara in having cured Udanka of his white leprosy, now throws himself at the feet of Śaṅkara with his son Pṛithvîdhara and requests him to cure the young boy of his disease.

Pṛithvīdhara,[125] by which name Prabhākara called his son, stopped talking with men from his fifth year. He

[125] It is to be noted that while Chitsukha calls Hastāmalaka by the name of Pṛithvîdhara, Ānandagiri calls him by that of Pṛithvîdhava. But they both agree in describing him as the son of Prabhākara and as having been converted by Saṅkara into Sannyāsa at Śrîvallî-Agrahāra at Pratishṭhāna, long before the conversion of Maṇḍana Miśra into Suresvarāchārya. Even Saṅkara Vijaya Vilāsa places this incident at Prayāga, exactly as we find in Chitsukha's Bṛihat Saṅkara Vijaya, and describes the young boy in the following terms:—

"तदन्तरे तु संख्यावान् प्रयागक्षेत्र माश्रितः ।
दिवाकराध्वरीत्येव नाम्ना सर्वत्र विश्रुतः ॥

अनेडमूक स्तस्या ऽऽसीत् पुत्रः स्थाणु रिवापरः ।
यथाजातव दाभाति पश्यन् या जनसंसदः ॥

नाऽजिघ्रत् खाति किंचिद्वा न पिपासति किंचन ।
न स्पन्दते न वदति क्रिमिकीटादिदंशने ॥

किं वा पिशाचिकाग्रस्तः किमु यक्षेण पीडितः ।
ब्रह्मरक्षोपभुक्तोवा किं वा मत्पापसंचयः ॥

इत्थं विचिन्तयन् भूयः किं कर्तु मुचितं त्विह ।
उपनेष्याम्यमुं पुत्रं यो वा को वा भव त्वयम् ॥

उपनीतं तत श्चक्रे विक्रयाय क्रमोचिताम् ।
मार्गमाणो गदस्याऽस्य प्रतीकारक्रियाक्षमम् ॥

वाञ्छ न्नविद्यत गृहे चिन्तासन्तमसावृतः ॥"

would not care to eat, would not like to play with the children in the village and would not even cry when he was beaten. The father thought that he was possessed of spirit and tried his best to cure him by performing all sorts of ceremonies prescribed in the Śāstras; but he could not be cured. With the greatest difficulty Prabhākara had managed to get his dumb son invested with the sacred thread, but he would not read the Vēdas or perform his Sandhyāvandana. In fact he continued to be dead to the world for all practical purposes. He now places his son before Śaṅkara and requests him to cure him of his disease. Śaṅkara at once finds out that the young boy is a born Yōgin, that he has realized the Brahman from his infancy, and that he assumed this dumbness to avoid all the ceremonials which his father was enforcing upon all as man's sole end and aim. The revered Guru blessed the young boy with his inspiring glances, placed his hand gently upon his head and [126] asked him who he was and why he was so behaving.

Mādhava and Sadānanda describe the condition of Hastāmalaka, Prabhākara's son before his conversion, in very much the same terms of exaggeration, while the account given of him by Chitsukha is devoid of all such improbabilities and exaggerations.

[126] The famous question put to Hastāmalaka by Śaṅkara is embodied in most of the Śaṅkara Vijayas in the following terms:

"कस्त्वं शिशो? कस्य? कुतोऽसि गन्ता?
किं नाम ते? त्वं कुत आगतोऽसि?।
एत द्वद त्वं मम सुप्रसिद्धं,
मत्प्रीतये प्रीतिविवर्धनोऽसि ॥"

So much so, the verse in question has been considered to be part and parcel of the famous Hastâmalaka-Ślokas and has been so printed in all the editions of the poem.

Pṛithvidhara, thereupon, burst into an eloquent and melodious song consisting of 12 verses known as [127] Hastāmalaka Ślokas describing the true nature of his soul and his great veneration for the Great Advaitāchārya, and requests Śaṅkara to accept him as one of his disciples and to initiate him as a Sannyāsin. Prabhākara is surprised at the wonderful change of his son and requests Śaṅkara to initiate him into the mysteries of the Advaita Philosophy and make him also a regular Sannyāsin. Śaṅkara accordingly composes

[127] Hastāmalaka-Slokas or Hastāmalaka Stotra as it is called in Bṛihat Śaṅkara Vijaya is said to contain the answer given to Śaṅkara's question embodied in the above mentioned stanza and begins as follows :—

"निमित्तं मनश्चक्षुरादिप्रवृत्तौ,
निरस्ताखिलोपाधि राकाशकल्प: ।
रवि र्लोकचेष्टानिमित्तं यथा य:,
स नित्योपलब्धिस्वरूपोऽह मात्मा ॥ १ ॥"

The last stanza runs as follows :—

"उपाधौ यथा भेदता सन्मणीनं
तथा भेदता बुद्धिभेदेषु तेऽपि ।
यथा चन्द्रिकाणां जले चंचलत्वं
तथा चंचलत्वं तवाऽपीह विष्णो ॥ ११ ॥"

The sum and substance of the whole of this poem is described in the following single verse in almost all the Śaṅkara Vijayas :

"नाऽहं मनुष्यो, न च देवयक्षो, न ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्र: ।
न ब्रह्मचारी न गृही वनस्थो भिक्षु श्च नाऽहं निजबोधरूप: ॥"

which is accordingly embodied in all the editions as a part and parcel of this poem. There is an anonymous commentary on the Slokas of Hastāmalaka but it is available only in manuscripts. It begins with :

his famous Prakaraṇa called [126] Tattvōpadēśa and teaches it to Prabhākara, who ever since that time renounces the world, becomes a Sannyāsin and turns out to be a staunch supporter of Śaṅkara's school of Vedānta Philosophy. Śaṅkara is most glad to accept Pṛithvīdhara as one of his chief disciples and admits him into the sacred order of the

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"यदज्ञानाज्जगत्सर्वं यस्मिन्नेवाऽवभासते ।
विज्ञाते नास्ति तत्सर्वं, त द्वन्दे ब्रह्म सर्वगम् ॥

On the origin of the poem, it says:

"श्रीवलल्याख्ये ग्रामे कस्यचि द्विप्रस्य भूतत्वेना ऽऽविर्भूतदेहो जन्मान्तरानुष्ठितश्रवणादिना निवृत्तमिथ्याज्ञानो...मूढजनैः पिशाचत्वेनाऽभिमतः शंकराचार्यैः कस्त्व मिति पृष्टः सन्, स्वानुभवं वदन्....द्वादशभिः श्लोकै रात्मतत्व मुपनिषदर्थं समधिगम्य प्रत्युत्तरच्छलेनाऽऽह—"निमित्त" मित्यादिना ।"

[126] Tattvopadēśa is one of the minor poems said to have been composed by Śaṅkara for the purpose of teaching his Advaita Philosophy to Prabhâkara and contains 87 stanzas. The work begins as follows:—

"तत्त्वपदार्थशुद्धचर्थं गुरुः शिष्यं वचोऽब्रवीत् ।
वाक्ये तत्त्व मसीत्यत्र त्वं पदार्थं विवेचय ॥ १ ॥
न त्वं देहोऽसि दृश्यत्वा दुपजात्यादिभेदतः ।
भौतिकत्वा दशुद्धत्वा दनित्यत्वा त्तथैव च ॥ २ ॥"

Chitsukha concludes the poem with the following stanza:

"इत्येवं बोधितो ब्राह्मामृतबोधात्मना द्विजः ।
गरुणा भाष्यकारेण प्रभाकरमखी महान् ॥"

But in the Nāgari edition published at Bombay, we find the name of Maṇḍana in place of Prabhākara in the concluding verse, in which case "Maṇḍana" must be taken to be a mere title of honour.

Sannyāsins of the class of Paramahamsa Parivrājakas under the significant name of Hastāmalaka, [129] as one who had realized the Brahman as an Āmalaka fruit held in one's own hand as well demonstrated by his famous poem called also Hastāmalaka-Ślōkas. The [130] conversion of Prabhākarā

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[129] On the origin of the name of Hastāmalaka, Śaṅkara Vijaya Vilāsa has:—

"आत्मस्वरूप मेतेन हस्तामलकसंमितम् ।
दर्शितं पुरत स्तस्मा न्मुदितो देशिकेश्वरः ॥
हस्तामलक इत्येव दत्तवा नभिधा मपि ॥"

Mādhava's Śaṅkara Vijaya also explains the name as follows:—

"प्रकाशयन्ते परमात्मतत्वं
करस्थधात्रीफलव द्यदेकम् ।
श्लोका स्तु हस्तामलकाः प्रसिद्धा
स्तत्कर्तु राख्याऽपि तथैव वृत्ता ॥"

The following is the account given in the Kēralīya Śaṅkara Vijaya:

"कस्त्वं द्विजात्मजैवं किं वर्तसे जडवत् सदा ।
बाल्रोप्यबालबुद्धि स्त मुत्तरं निजगाद सः ॥
हृद्यै द्वादशभिः पद्यैः प्रकाशितचिदात्मकैः ।
करस्थधात्रीफलवत् चित्त्वरूपं प्रकाशितम् ॥
तत्पद्यै हि ततो ऽस्या ऽऽख्यहस्तामलक इत्यभूत् ।
द्विजपुत्रं निवृत्तं तं विज्ञाय यतिपुंगवः ॥
आचार्यो यतितां नीत्वा तं च भूसुरनन्दनम् ।
महात्मभि स्त्रिभिः शिष्यै विरेजे सुतरां ततः ॥

[130] It is said by Chitsukha that after he was converted by Śaṅkara, Prabhākara destroyed all the works written by him on Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā. Before his conversion he was considered by his countrymen as the greatest of the Gurus and he was invariably called

chārya and the wonderful transformation of his dumb son Pṛithvīdhara into the eloquent Hastāmalaka Yōgīndra created quite a sensation at Prayāga and its neighbourhoods and Śaṅkara with his two new disciples walked towards Bharadvājāśrama followed by a thousand followers with cheers of joy and shouts of victory.

On another day while going to [181] Kauśāmbī, Śaṅkara achieved a decidedly greater success by reviving a dead boy

Mahāmahopādhyāya Prabhākara Bhaṭṭāchārya and his School of Pūrva-Mimāmsā Philosophy was pre-eminently styled Guru-Mata. Almost all the works that we possess at present on the Pūrva-Mīmāmsā represent only the Bhāṭṭā-Mata, the School of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa; and the views of Prabhākarācharya are briefly referred to in them only as Pūrvapaksha—an objection to be refuted. The only work in which his views are preserved to us in their full details is Prakaraṇa-Pañchikā written by Śālikanātha, one of the direct disciples of Prabhākara himself, who, inspite of his Guru's conversion, continued to be a strict adherent and advocate of Prabhākara's School of Mīmāmsā Philosophy. It consists of a number of Prakaraṇas, and each Prakaraṇa is headed with an introductory stanza in which the author acknowledges his allegiance to Prabhākara, his Guru. The work commences with the following introductory stanza:

"स्वाध्यायविधिवाक्यार्थविचारे प्रयतामहे ।
प्रभाकरगुरो र्दृष्टया मीमांसारम्भसिद्धये ॥"

The work has been recently published in the Chaukāmbā Samsṛkit Series, Benares.

[181] Kauśāmbī was one of the great cities of Ancient India situated on the bank of the Jumna 30 miles above Prayāga. It was a flourishing city at the time of Śaṅkara and is now reduced to an insignificant village called Kosam. According to Matsya Purāṇa, it was first made the capital of the descendants of the Great Pāṇḍava dynasty by king Vichakshu called Nēmichakra, the son of King Adhisīmakṛishna, and sixth in descent from Arjuna, the most famous of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, when his old capital Hastināpura was washed away by the depredations of the course of the Ganges.

in that city.[133] His parents were very old and belonged to a very respectable Brāhman family, and the poor boy was their only son. He suddenly met with his death at the prime of his youth, leaving his aged parents to bemoan his untimely loss. The sight of the miserable father and mother of the boy crying over the corpse of their beloved son created such an amount of pity in the heart of the most compassionate teacher that a strong and irresistible desire arose in his mind to seek a remedy to put an end to the suffering of these miserable parents. Then a voice was heard from above that it is perfectly useless that one should feel compassion for the sorrow of another if he was not able to remove the suffering.

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[133] Mādhava places this incident at a place called Mūkāmbī-Kshētra, and whether it is indentical with Kauśāmbi or not, we are not in a position to say. The following is the description given in Mādhava's Śaṅkara Vijaya :

"वृषाकपायीवरयोः सपर्यां वाचातिमाच्चारसयेति तन्वन् ।
मुनिप्रवीरो मुदितात्मकामो मूकाम्बिकायाः सदनं प्रतस्थे ॥

अंके निधाय व्यसु मात्मजातं महाकुलौ हन्त मुहुः प्ररुद्य ।
तदेकपुत्रौ द्विजदम्पती स दृष्ट्वा दयाधीनतया शुशोच ॥

अपार मञ्च त्यथ शोक मस्मि न्नभूयतोच्चै रशरीतवाचा ।
जायेत संरक्षितु मक्षमस्य जनस्य दुःखाय परं दयेति ॥

आकर्ण्य वाणी मशरीरिणीं ता मसाविति व्याहरति स्म विज्ञः।
जगत्त्रयीरक्षणदक्षिणस्य सत्यं तवैकस्य तु शोभते सा ॥

इतीरयत्येव ततो द्विजातेः सुतः सुखं सुप्त इवोदतिष्ठत् ।
समीपगैः सर्वजनीन मस्य चारित्र्य मालोक्य विसिस्मये च ॥"

Chitsukha. on the other hand, distinctly places this miraculous incident of the revival of the Brāhman boy at the city of Kauśāmbi, during the short stay of Saṅkara at Bharadvājāśrama at Prayāga.

Śaṅkara thereupon exclaimed that God alone who is the Protector of all the worlds that can feel such compassion and be able to remove the suffering, and that if the Almighty Ruler of the Universe pleases even the dead will rise up alive and walk. Then the Brāhman boy suddenly arose from the bier as if he was merely sleeping on it, and the joy of the parents at this miraculous revival of their only son knew no bounds, and they could not sufficiently express their gratitude to Śaṅkara for this extremely disinterested act of his mercy in reviving their son. The news of the revival of the boy gladdened the hearts of all the people in the place and the whole city of Kauśambī was a scene of perfect bliss.

One day, early in the morning, while the great teacher Śankara—just then an ascetic of only 16 years—was resting with his disciples on the bank of the holy river Trivēṇī under the cool shade of a big Tamāla tree, news was brought to him that the great Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the champion of the *Karma-Mārga* and the destroyer of the Jainas, was about to commit himself to flames in a secluded part of Ruddhapura, probably one of the suburbs attached to the great city of Prayāga. In hot haste Śankara hastened to the spot with a number of his disciples and found Bhaṭṭachārya, the great advocate of the Pūrva-Mīmāmsā school started by Jaimini, and found him calmly lying on a funeral pyre, made up of heaps of chaff (*Tushānala*) which was already ablaze, surrounded by a number of Brāhmaṇas who were solemnly engaged in chanting the Vēdic Mantras prescribed by the Śāstras for the great expiation ceremony (*Vaidika-Prāyaschitta*), which the great Bhaṭṭa was bent upon carrying out at any cost.

This is perhaps the most convenient place to speak at some length of the life and doings of this great historic

personage. He is believed by some modern scholars to be an Assamese or Bengālī Brāhman, but according to Chitsukha's Bṛihat Śankara Vijaya, he is said to be a native of Southern India, probably of Kērala itself, the country which has given birth to Śankara, and his Mīmāmsā-Vārtikas furnish conclusive proof of his connection with the land of Tamil. This enthusiastic and orthodox Brāhman is said to have travelled all over India in preaching the religion of the Karma-Mārga-the pure unadulterated religion of Sacrifices and Rituals of the Vēdas—and in converting to the religion of his forefathers many powerful potentates who had begun to embrace the new religion established by Vardhamāna Mahāvīra under the name of Jainism.

In the 8th century B. C., there arose a very distinguished reformer and preacher by name Pārśva or Pārśvanātha, who is now called one of the *Tīrthakas*. Being dissatisfied with the popular Vēdic religion, with its animal sacrifices and cumbrous rituals, with its strict observance of castes and orders, which was raising into importance under the name of Pūrva-Mīmāmsā, one of the six Orthodox systems of Philosophy founded by Jaimini, which gave supreme importance to these sacrifices and rituals, this great reforming precher collected certain groups of men and formed out of them a new order of monastic life of religious speculation called Ājīvakas. Pārśvanātha having been born of an orthodox Brāhman family, such speculation was at first closely connected with the study of the Vēdas, and men who adopted this monastic life were mostly drawn from the Brāhmaṇa caste, who were the guardians of the Vēdic lore from the most ancient times. While they accepted the authority of the Vēdas and the necessity of the caste system, which were the two essential doctrines of the Vēdic religion

they agreed with the Buddhists in the matter of the five duties of laymen, '*Śrāvakas*' who were in and of the world, and the ten duties of the ascetic monks, '*Yatis*', who lived apart in monasteries: so that this new religion of the Ājivakas founded by Pārśvanātha was a happy blending of the two great religions, Brāhmanism and Buddhism. In the matter of philosophy these Ājīvakas followed the Vaiśeshika system founded by Kaṇāda and they held the world to be eternal and made up of atoms. They believed in the existance of 24 Tīrthañkaras or Tīrthakas who included most of the Deities worshipped by Brāhamaṇas Moksha or Liberation, according to them, consisted in freeing the soul by making it become divine like unto Tirthaṇkaras; and Right Insight, Right knowledge, and Right Conduct, corresponding to the three-fold path of the Vēdāṇtins known as Bhakti-Yoga, Jñāna-Yoga and Karma-Yoga were the only three means to attain the same In the observance of the last injunction, the Ājīvaka monks were vowed never to tell lies; never to steal; never to be immoderate in thought, word or deed; never to desire too much; but above all, never to kill or injure any living thing.

The doctrine of "Ahimsâ Paramo Dharmah", which had been adapted from the Vedic injunction "Na himsyāṭ sarvā bhūtāni" by the great teacher Gautama Buddha, more than 1000 years before their time, as one of his central doctrines, was carried into its extremes by these Brāhman Ājīvakas, who took a strict vow never to kill or injure any living creature. Thus, if a fire was kindled, there was an apprehension of insects falling into it; and, therefore, many an Ājivaka lived in darkness at night. Some of these Ājivakas were really so compassionate towards living beings, that they actually covered their faces with veils when

they stirred out to prevent insects falling into their mouths and so losing their life. The water they drank they first strained in hopes of removing all life. They swept the ground before them as they walked, so that their feet might not fall on any living thing. But the majority of the Ājivakas who were Kshatriyas and members belonging to other non-Brāhman communities, who generally ate flesh, allowed themselves great liberties on these matters and this sacred injunction of the Ājivakas was observed by them more in its breach than in its observance; and they gradually became jealous of the Brāhmanas who strictly observed these injunctions. Though they nominally conformed themselves to the wholesome doctrines promulgated by Pārśvanātha, they acted no better than Lokāyatas in their actual life and began to hate the Brāhmans. As a natural result, these low Ājivakas began to denounce, revile and hold the Vēdas themselves as unworthy of the consideration of wise men.

Amongst these Ājivakas, there arose in the 6th century B.C., a great man by nama Vardhamāna who completely modified the doctrines of Pārśvanātha and founded a new system of religion called the '*Nirgranthi*' or 'Jaina', which in many points reverted back to the corrupt form of Buddhism which then prevailed side by side with Brāhmanism, and from which it was for a long time considered an offshoot. His father named Siddhārtha is said to belong to a low class of Kshatriyas and a chietain of the Kundagrāma, and his mother Trisālā was the sister of Kataka, a Brāhman who rose to the chieftainship of Vaiśālī, the chief town of the Lichchhavis at that time. Vardhamāna became proficient in the dialectics of logic and the art of spells, and at the age of 28, he set forth on his mission, formed a secret society of Śramaṇas (a new monastic order) from which the Brāh-

maṇas were rigorously excluded; and by his oratorical power and logical presentation of things, he became known as *Jina* 'The Conqueror' and his new teaching as *Jainism*, just as Gautama Śākyasimha is known as *Buddha* 'The Enlightened' and his teaching as *Buddhism*.

Vardhamāna whose peculiar views came directly into conflict with the Brāhmanism of his day, denied in the first instance, the divine origin and the absolute authority of the Vêdas. He taught that the real superiority in men lay in character and not in obeying rules of caste; so much so, he invited all castes indiscriminately to enter his new community called the Nirgranthins or Jainas, who cast aside all social bonds and acted as they pleased. Vardhamāna proclaimed himself to be the greatest of the Tathāgatas and Tirthakas; and by his favourable position as a great warrior and distinguished scholar belonging to the Kshatriya caste, he became known to the world as Mahāvira and a number of potentates and kings of his time were soon induced to adopt his religion and to bestow their patronage on his followers, who likewise became known as Jainas, Tathāgatas or Sugatas. As many of the Kings had already embraced Buddhism in some form or other, Mahāvira and his followers carefully refrained themselves from coming into conflct with the Buddhists, perhaps, because, unconsciously they were also undermining the teaching of the Brāhmanas.

There were as yet no Brāhmanas as opposed to Bauddhas or Ājīvakas. No separation had has yet taken place, and the greatest reformers at the time of Buddha and Pārśvanātha were reforming Brāhmans. This is acknowledged in all Buddhist writings, and Buddha, though a Kshatriya by birth, is represented as a pupil of the Brāhmans, and no slur is anywhere cast by Buddha on the Gods and Songs of

the Vêda. "Buddha, according to his own canonical biographer", writes Max Muller in his 'History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature', "learned the Rig Vēda and was a proficient in all the branches of the Brāhmanic lore. His pupils were many of them Brāhmans, and no hostile feeling against the Brāhman finds utterance in the Buddhist Canon............Buddhism in its original form was only a modification of Brāhmanism. It grew up slowly and imperceptibly, and its very founder could hardly have been aware of the final results of his doctrines."

The same remarks apply to Pārśvanātha and his followers known as Ājīvakas. Mahāvīra forms a striking contrast to these two great reformers. He and his followers began to treat the Brāhmaṇas, their opponents, with marked disrespect. This great hero Mahāvīra, though at first conceived by a Brāhman woman, is represented, in the sacred writings of the Jains, as having been removed from her womb and transferred to the womb of a Kshatriya woman, for "surely" as Śakko says, "such a thing as this has never happened in past, happens not in present, nor will happen in future time, that an Arhat, a Chakravartin, a Baladēva, or a Vāsudēva, shall be born in a low-caste family, a servile family, a degraded family, a poor family, a mean family, a beggar's family, or a Brāhman's family; but, on the contrary, in all time, past, present, and to come, an Arhat, a Chakravartin, a Vāsudēva, receives birth in a noble family, a honourable family, a royal family, a Kshatriya family, as in the family of Ikshvāku, or the Harivaṁśa, or some such family or pure descent" (Vide Kalpa Sūtra, p. 35.)

Now this is merely party insolence, intelligible in the 6th century B.C., when the Brāhmans as a party were re-establishing their hierarchical sway. Nothing of the kind

is to be found in the canonical books of the Buddhists. Buddha had his opponents, and among them chiefly the Tirthakas ; but so had all eminent sages of whom we read in the Brāhmanas. But Buddha had also his friends and followers, and they likewise were Brāhmaṇas and Rishis. Mahāvira's success, on the other hand, depended chiefly on the secret society he had formed and his one central idea was to put down, by hook or crook, the superiority of Brāhmanism which had come to be recognised by intelligent men belonging to all classes of Hindu society, ever since the rise of the two great schools of Indian Philosophy, the Pūrva-Mimāmsā and the Uttara-Mimāmsā, founded by the two great sages [138] Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa, at about the beginn-

[138] Both Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa refer to the Yoga aphorisms of Patañjali; and they must, therefore, be either his contemporaries, or must have flourished subsequent to his time. But from the manner in which these two sages refer to Patañjali's doctrines and aphorisms, it is clear that they must have lived soon after Patañjali's time. Now from the way in which Patañjali refers to Pushyamitra's Horse-Sacrifice in his great work called the Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāshya, it is clear that he must have been an eye-witness of that solemn sacrifice, performed by that great monarch, the Founder of the Suṅga Dynasty who reigned at Magadha between 1219 and 1159 B.C. (Vide Appendix I, pp. 69–71). It is further clear that Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa must have been not only contemporaries, but also were intimately connected with each other, as each of them quotes the opinion of the other in their respective Mīmāṁsā-Sūtras. Compare, for instance the following Sūtras from their respective works:

"परं जैमिनि र्मुख्यात्वात् ।"

—Bādarāyana's Vēdānta Sūtras, IV-3-12

"बादरायाणस्यानपेक्षत्वात् ।"

—Jaimini's Mīmāṁsā-Sūtras, I-1-5.

Both of them must have jointly worked together to bring about the

ing of the 11th century B. C.; and he had his followers, consequently, took no Brāhmaṇas among their disciples.

There were many great men among the Āryas who tried hard to revive the Ancient Vēdic Religion (Vaidika Sanātana Dharma) of their fore-fathers, and to drive away Buddhism and Jainism from Āryāvarta; but undoubtedly Kumārila Bhaṭṭa was the greatest of them all. After going through the usual course of Vêdic study in his Gurukula, as was the general custom among all the Brāhman boys, Kumara or Kumārila, as he was usually called, came out with all the Śāstric knowledge and Vêdic culture that was possible to acquire at the best seats of Samskṛit Learning throughout India. Though he was well versed in all the branches of Samskṛit Literature, he took himself to a special and thorough study of the Pūrva-Mīmāmsā-Sūtras of Jaimini, and wrote a complete and exhaustive [134] gloss to the famous comment-

revival ef the Ancient Vēdic Religion as taught by Sri Kṛishṇa, some 2000 years before their time, in the interval between the last Dvāpara Yuga and the present Kali Yuga in his wonderful Divine Song called Srî Bhagavad-Gîtā, as embodied by Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa in the middle of his Mahābhārata,—one of them giving prominence to Pravṛitti-Mārga, and the other to Nivṛitti-Mārga, as depicted therein. Either both of them studied under one and the same Guru, or one of them was a pupil of the other, though they differed from each other in certain minor matters. The tradition says that Jaimini was a pupil of Bādarayaṇa Vyāsa, and it is quite consistent with the above mentioned facts.

[134] The Pūrva-Mîmāṁsā or 'The first inquiry into the meaning of the Vēdas' is chiefly hermeneutical in its nature. Sri Mahābhāgavat of Kurtkoṭi (Kratukoṭi) says: "It is called the First Inquiry, not only because it confines itself to the Karma-Kāṇḍa or the first portion of the Vēdas, but also more probably because it was desiderated before the Uttara-Mîmāṁsā (Second Inquiry) came into being. It may be said to be an orthodox re-action against the doctrines of philosophers purely

ary of Śābara Svāmin (Śābara-Bhāshya) on the Pūrva-Mīmāmsa-Sūtra, advocating the religion of the Karma-Mārga of the Vêdas at the sacrifice and neglect of the Jñāna-Mārga as taught in the Upanishads, the crowing glory of the Vêdas.

rational, for its object is to insist on the performance of Vêdie rites. It is for this reason that it is also sometimes called the Karma-Mîmāṁsā on "Inquiry into religious works." The author of this work is Jaimini, and it consists of a body of aphorisms or Sūtras divided into twelve chapters or Adhyāyas. Each Adhyāya is subdivided into four Pādas or quarters, each of which consists of a number of Sūtras. It deals with varieties of duties, the order of their performance, indirect precepts, inferable changes, efficiency and co-ordinate effect. It is a school of ceremonial and interpretation, and the *summum bonum*, according to it, consists in literally carrying out all the Vēdic injunctions. It has an elaborate commentary by Sabara Svāmin, called Sābara-Bhāshya. That this Bhāshya had existed prior to the Vēdānta Sūtra Bhāshya of Sri Sankarāchārya, is apparent from the fact that Sankara himself refers to it in commenting upon the Bādarāyaṇa-Sūtra "एक आत्मनः शरीरे भावात् ।" (III-3-53) by stating "इत एवाऽऽकृष्याऽऽचार्येण शबरस्वामिना प्रमाणलक्षणे वर्णितम् ।" But as this commentary was somewhat abstruse and difficult to be understood by ordinary scholars, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa wrote an exhaustive gloss on the said Sābara-Bhāshya by composing his famous Sloka-Vārtika, Tantra-Vārtika and Tup-Tīkā, which taken together form a complete gloss on the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā. Sloka-Vārtika (श्लोकवार्तिकम्) is the name given to the gloss of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa on the First Pāda of the First Adhyāya of the Mīmāṁsā-Sāstra, and it is so called, because the full purport of the Text of Jaimini, and the Commentary of Sabara Svāmin, is explained and illustrated here in the form of verses or Slokas. Tantra-Vārtika (तन्त्रवार्तिकम्) is the name given to Kumārila's gloss on Sabarasvāmin's Bhashya beginning with the Second Pāda of the First Adhyāya beginnind with the 3rd Adhyāya. It is so called, because

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa was not satisfied with his gloss. He was not able to check the growth of Jainism which was just then making a havoc of war against Brāhmanism under their great and veteran Leader Mahāvīra. This enthusiatic Brāhman tried his best to understand the sacret of his success, but he was quite unable to find out why people from all parts of India began to flock in numbers to this new

it is written in prose (*Tantra*). These two glosses or Vārtikas are very exhaustive, and form, as it were, a standard of interpretation for all the Srutis and Smṛitis. The subjects of discussion are called Adhikaraṇas, and the perfectly logical and rational way in which Kumārila carries these discussions won such admiration of Max Muller, that he exclaims: "To me, these Mîmāṁsā discussions are extremely attractive, and for accuracy of reasoning they have no equal anywhere." The Mîmāṁsā-Darśana is also on this score named Nyāya-Lakshaṇa (the Science of Reasoning). Another name for Mîmāṁsā is Nyāya-Sahaśrî, which means "Teachings of a thousand subjects." The method of reasoning applied being perfectly general, the Nyāyas (Rules) laid down in the Pūrva-Mîmāṁsā are also accepted by other schools of Philosophy. Our Courts of Justice are likewise guided by the Nyāyas of Jaimini's Pūrva-Mîmāṁsā in the interpretation of the Smṛitî Texts. Henry Thomas Colebrooke, who was the first to handle the Samskṛit language and literature on scientific principles, remarks on these disquisitions as follows:—"The disquisitions of the Mîmāṁsā bear, therefore, a certain resemblance to judicial questions and, in fact, the Hindu Law being blended with the religion of the people, some modes of reasoning are applicable and are applied to the other. The logic of the Mîmāṁsā is the logic of the Law, the rule of interpretation of civil and religious ordinances. Each case is examined and determined upon general piinciples. and from the cases decided the principles may be collected. A well-ordered arrangement of them would constitute the Philosophy of Law, and this is in truth what has been attempted in the Mîmāṁsā."

On the other hand, the gloss on the remaining portions of the Pūrva-Mîmāṁsā Bhāshya by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa is known as Ṭup-Tîkā (टुपटीका); and as the name indicates it is merely a

religion taught by his founder. This young orthodox Brāhman knew full-well that [135] Mahāvīra admitted no pupils into the secrets of his society of Nirgranthins or Jainas, unless they were sworn to Jainism for their life, and that he specially hated the Brāhmans and totally refused to admit them into the secrets of his doctrines, however well disposed they may really be towards his new religion.

We are, therefore, told by [136] Chitsukha, that Kumārila put on the disguise of a Jaina and got himself enrolled as a

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running commentary on Adhyāyas IV to XII of Sabara Svāmin's Bhāshya. Kumārila's Sloka-Vārtika has been published in the Chaukhāmbā Samskṛit Series as No. 3, with the well-known Vyākhyā of Srī Pārthasārathi Misra called Nyāya-Ratnākara. The Tantra-Vārtika is also published as No. 49 of the Chaukhāmbā Samskṛit Series with the famous Tikā of Bhaṭṭa Somēsvara known as Nyāya-Sudhā. The Tup-Tīkā of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa has also been published in the Benares Samskṛit Series, edited by the Paṇḍits of the Benares Samskṛit College under the superintendence of R. T. A. Griffith M. A., C. I. E., and G. Thibaut Ph. D.

[135] Mahāvīra or Varadhamāna Jñātaputra, the Founder of the Nirgranthi or Jaina sect must have died in 527 B. C., in as much as the learned Jainas make use of an Era dating from the Nirvāṇa or death of this great teacher, which they uniformly place 470 years before the Mālava King Vikramārka, whose Era begins in 57 B. C. As Mahāvīra is said to have died, according to Jaina Prabandhas, in his seventy-first year, he must have been born in 598 B. C. It is a great mistake to suppose that Mahāvīra Vardhamāna Jñātaputra, was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha, the Founder of Buddhism who, according to our researches, flourished between 1862 and 1782 B. C. This mistake must have evidently arisen from the fact that Oriental scholars variously place Buddha's Nirvāṇa or death in 477 B. C. (Max Muller's date), 482 B. C. (Dr. Fleet's revised date), 487 B. C. (Dr. Fleet's former date), or 543 B. C. (the Ceylonese date.)

[136] Chitsukhāchārya's Bṛihat Sankara Vijaya gives the following account of the early life of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa:

disciple under Mahāvīra. Thus under this great teacher Kumārila learnt all about Jaina religion and philosophy, and was even looked upon by his co-pupils with jealousy and

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"मदीयः पूर्ववृत्तान्तः श्रोतव्य स्ते मयोच्यते ।
इतः पूर्वं प्रवृत्ता स्ते जैना ब्राह्मणदूषकाः ॥

महावीरमताक्रान्तो विरलो वैदिको ऽभवत् ।
नास्तिक्य मीश्वरे वेदे धर्मे चा ऽऽसीन्नृणां तदा ॥

महावीरं पुरस्कृत्य वर्धमानं स्वदेशिकम् ।
समाविश्य गृहे राज्ञां तान् वशीकृत्य सौगताः ॥

वेदो ऽप्रमाण मित्यादिमिथ्यालाप मचीकरन् ।
ज्ञात्वाऽपि वैदिकं शास्त्रजालं सम्यग्गुरो र्मुखात् ॥

निर्ग्रन्थिनो महातन्त्रान् महावीरमतानुगान् ।
तान् जैना न्नाऽशकं जेतुं विवादे सर्वथैव हि ॥

विजिगीषु रहं जैना नुद्यतोऽभूव मादरात् ।
तन्मतं न मया बुद्धं निषेध्यं वेददूषकम् ॥

तत स्तेषां मतं बोद्धु न एव शरणीकृताः ।
शिष्यत्वेन न ते कंचित् पर्यगृह्णन् महीसुरम् ॥

त दब्राह्मण मात्मानं नाटयन् जैनवेषतः ।
तन्मतस्थापनोद्युक्तं महावीराभिधं जिनम् ॥

वर्धमानं गुरुं प्राप्य तदन्तेवासिभिः समम् ।
पठ न्ननुदिनं तत्र कतिचि द्धायना न्यहम् ॥

तेषां सिद्धान्त मश्रौषं, वेदमार्गं मदूषयम् ।
तद्देशिकेन सश्लाघ मभूवं चाऽभिनन्दितः ॥

hatred, because he had been treated by their Great Teacher himself, more favourably than others. For a time, all went

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निष्णातश्चाऽभं जैनरहस्ये ष्वखिलेष्वपि ।
एकदा स महावीरो ब्रह्मद्वेषी निरंकुशः ॥

अतीवा ऽदूषय द्वेदा न्विप्रान् यज्ञां श्च देवतान् ।
श्रुतिस्मृतिविरुद्धार्थबोधकं तद्विजल्पितम् ॥

दुराकर्ण्य समाकर्ण्य विदीर्णमनसो मम ।
अर्णो न्यपत दक्षणोऽथ स्थूलमुक्ताफलाकृति ॥

ददृशु स्तत्र तच्छिष्या स्तदा सर्वत्र संस्थिताः ।
अपृच्छन् किमिदं तेऽद्य निष्पतत्यम्बु लोचनात् ॥

अवादिष महं तेभ्यः कपटेनेत्थ मञ्जसा ।
युक्तो राकर्ण्य निर्णिक्ता भवद्देशिकनिर्मिताः ॥

समुद्यन्निर्भरानन्दतुन्दिलावशचेतसः ।
निःसम्रु रश्रुव्याजेन वहि रानन्दबिन्दवः ॥

इत्थं जल्पत्यनल्पं मय्यग्रजं मां तु मेनिरे ।
गुरवे चाऽपि वृत्तान्त मञ्जसैनं न्यवेदयन् ॥

ततः साप्तपदीनं ते विससर्जुः पुरेव मे ।
ब्राह्मणोऽह मिति ज्ञात्वा मद्वधार्थं समुद्यताः ॥

महावीरश्च तच्छिष्या विप्रेषु कृतमत्सराः ।
विपक्षपाती बलवान् दूषयिष्यति नो मतम् ॥

यथाकथंचि न्नाश्योऽय मित्यामन्त्र्य परस्परम् ।
एकदा मां सुविश्रब्धं चन्द्रिकायां सुखास्थितम् ॥

गुरो रुत्तुंगसौधाग्रं नीत्वोपायेन केनचित् ।
विश्राम्यतो गुरो रेव महावीरस्य शिष्यकाः ॥

on well; but on a certain day, Mahāvīra began so vehemently to repudiate the sanctity of the Vēdas and of the Vēdic

परस्परं सल्लॅपन्तः क्रीडन्तश्च सुनिर्भरम् ।
गुरोः सम्प्राप्य संकेत मुत्क्षिपन्तः परस्परम् ॥
हस्ते नोत्क्षिप्य मां चापि प्रहसन्तः पुनः पुनः ।
एते कदर्यहतका महावीरमतानुगाः ॥
गुरो स्तत्सौधशिखरात् सहसा मां न्यपातयत् ।
परिभ्रान्त स्तथा सौधात् पतन् स त्रुक्तवानहम् ॥
यदि वेदाः प्रमाणं स्यु र्जीवेय मिति चेतसि ।
यदीति संशयत्योक्ते र्गुरुद्रोहा त्तथा मम ॥
पततस्तूच्चदेशा न्मे चक्षु रेकं परिक्षतम् ।
तत्प्रदेशा द्विनिष्क्रम्या ऽक्षतगात्रः सपद्यहम् ॥
महावीरे कृतद्वेष स्तन्मतं सर्वतो भुवि ।
युक्तिभिश्च तदुक्ताभि र्विवाद्य नृपसंसदि ॥
जित्वा जैनान् विवादेषु जिनं चाऽपि विदूषयन् ।
स्थापितश्च पुनः कर्ममार्गः स्थिरतरो मया ॥"

The account of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's early life, as given above, is more or less strongly corroborated by all the Śaṅkara Vijayas and by scattered passages form Kumārila's own works. Some of these Śaṅkara Vijayas agree so closely with one another not only in substance but also in form, that they all seem to have been derived from one and the same source, and most probably from Chitsukha's work itself. For instance, many of the stanzas quoted herein are found practically in the same from in Chidvilāsa's Śaṅkara Vijaya Vilāsa, and Sadānanda's Śaṅkara Digvijaya Sāra. One thing is quite clear from a careful perusal of these various Śaṅkara Vijayas, that the

Gods by ridiculing them, that Kumārila was mortally

later biographers have invariably confounded the Jainas with the Bauddhas, by considering them for all practical purposes as one sect. Their description of Kumārila's early life is very vague; and they do not mention the name of the Buddhist or Jaina teacher under whom Kumārila learnt the secrets of his religion and philosophy in disguise. But Chitsukha distinctly says that Kumārila's opponents were Mahāvîra and his followers called the Jainas, and that he directed his energies against the Jains alone who under their founder Mahāvira Vardhamāna, began to undermine the Vēdic Brāhmanism in his day.

We find a wonderful corroboration of this account from quite an unexpected source. It is, indeed, evidence furnished by the opponents of Śaṅkara's school of philosophy. We mean the Jaina Vijaya, one of the oldest works on the life of Jina or Mahāvîra, by an orthodox Jain poet, who distinctly mentions Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and King Sudhanvan as contemporaries of his hero Mahāvîra, and who considers these two personages as well as Śaṅkara as his enemies, and refers to them in a contemptible manner. The particular passage in question which also throws light upon the date of these great historical personages is quoted at length in connection with the Age of Kālidāsa by the renowned Samskṛit Scholar, Vidyā Vāchaspati Paṇḍit Appā Śāstri of Kolhapur in Nos. 1 to 3 of his Samskṛita-Chandrikā (a monthly Samskṛit Journal of high reputation), Vol. IX. There, in discussing the date of Kālidāsa,—the author of the three famous dramas, Mālavikāgnimitra, Vikramorvaśî and Abhijñānaśā-kuntala,—whom he places in the 6th century B. C; as a contemporary of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Śaṅkarâchârya, our esteemed scholar incidentally discusses the date of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Śāṅkara, and quotes the verses referring to them from the Jina-Vijaya, which gives the years in the Yudhishṭhira Saka, which is uniformly placed 468 years after the commencement of the Kali Yuga by the Jain and Buddhistic writers.

Thus in describing the birth of Kumāra Bhaṭṭāchārya, the Jain Vijaya declares:

" ऋषिर्वारि स्तथा पूर्णं मर्त्याक्षौ वाममेळनात् ।
एकीकृत्य लभेतांकः क्रोधी स्यात् तत्र वत्सरः ॥

wounded at heart; so much so that he could not restrain himself from shedding tears. His brother-students, who were all non-Brāhmans. observed this strange behaviour in

भट्टाचार्यकुमारस्य कर्मकाण्डैकवादिनः ।
ज्ञेयः प्रादुर्भव स्तस्मिन् वर्षे यौधिष्ठिरे शके ।। "

(Vide p. 8, Samskṛita-Chandrikā, under "महाकविः श्रीकालिदासः")
" We shall get the year Krodhin, if we calculate the figures Rishi (7) Vāra (7), Pūrṇa (0) and Martyāksha (2), in the reverse order. Be it known that it was in that year 2077 of the Yudhishṭhira Saka that Kumâra Bhaṭṭâchârya, the special advocate of the Karma-kāṇḍa was born"

It is clear from this that Kumārila was born in the year Krodhin of the year 2077 of the Yudishṭhira Saka (according to the Jains) corresponding to (2077+468) 2545 of the Kali Yuga or in other words in 557 B. C.

This exactly, corresponds to the date given to Kumārila Bhaṭṭa by Chitsukha, who says that he was older than Saṅkara by 48 years. Referring to this point Paṇḍit Appâ Sastri writes in the above journal as follows:—

" ततश्च ताम्रशासनाद्यनुसारेण, अवधारिते श्रीमता माचार्यचरणानां समयो ऽयुधिष्ठिरस्य २६३१ तमे शाके तेषा मवतार इति फलति । एष एव च भट्टकुमारिलजन्मतो ऽष्टचत्वारिंशो वत्सरः । ततश्च युधिष्ठिरस्य २५८३ तमे शाके कुमारिलभट्टस्य प्रादुर्भाव इत्यायातम् । * * * एवं च युधिष्ठिर शकस्य सप्तविंशताव्द्याः कथ मपि नाऽर्वाचीनाः श्रीमन्त आदिशंकराचार्याः, श्रीमान् कुमारिलभट्टो वेति संसिद्धम् ।। "

N. B. It was only in answer to my query asking for the original authority from Jina Vijaya, for this proposition, that the above verses relating to the time of the birth of Kumârila Bhaṭṭa were written and sent to me by the late lamented Paṇḍit Appâ Sâstri, and so the above verses do not find a place in the valuable Samskṛit Journal.

the new pupil, and cautiously bought it to the notice of their Great Teacher, who at once suspected Kumārila to be a

The fall (पराभव:) of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, both from the esteem of the Jainas with whom for sometimes he studied under their great teacher Mahāvira, and frem the high terrace of his said master, appears to be a memorable event in the history of Ancient India; and the Jina Vijaya, regarding the said point, declares:—

"नन्दा: पूर्णं भूश्च नेत्रे मनुजानां च वामत: ।
मेलने वत्सरो धाता युधिष्ठिरशकस्य वै ।।

भट्टाचार्यकुमारस्य कर्मकाण्डस्य वादिन: ।
जात: पराभव स्तस्मिन् विज्ञेयो वत्सरे शुभे ।।"

(Vide Ibid. p. 3)

"It was the year Dhātṛi when 2109 years had elapsed in Yudhishṭhira Saka, calculating the figures Nandas (9), Pūrna (0), Bhū (1) and Netra (2) in the reverse order. It was in that *auspicious year* that Kumāra Bhaṭṭāchārya met with his fall."

The poet being a Jain is glad to think of the discomfiture of Kumârila in the hands of the Great Jaina Teacher and his worthy followers, and remembers the yeat as an auspicious one in the history of the Jainas, as the epithet 'शुभे' indicates. So this incident must have happened in the year 2109 of the Yudhishṭhira Saka according to the Jains, corresponding to 525 B. C. Kumārila must have been 32 years old at that time.

Referring to the date of Saṅkarāchārya, the Jina Vijaya states:

"ऋषि र्बाण स्तथा भूमि र्मर्त्याक्षौ वाममेळनात् ।
एकत्वेन लभेतांक स्ताम्राक्ष स्तत्र वत्सर: ।।"

(Ibid. p. 6)

"When we calculate the figures Rishi (7), Bâṇa (5) Bhūmi (1) and Martyâksha (2), in the reverse order and obtain the total nnmber of years 2157 in the Yudhishṭhira Saka, we arrive at the year Tâmrâksha (Raktâkshi) as the year of Saṅkara's death"

Brāhman heretic in the disguise of a Jaina. Accordingly this pious teacher conspired with his other pupils, and resolved

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It is plain from this that Sañkara died in the year Raktâkshi, corresponding to the year 2157 of the Yudhishṭhira Saka (according to the Jains)—the year (2157+468) 2625 of the Kali Yuga corresponding to 477 B. C.—which is exactly the date given of Sañkara's death in all the various Sañkara Vijayas. We know that Sañkara died in his 32nd year, and so he must have been born in the year 2593 of the Kali Yuga, 2631 of the Yudhishṭhira Śaka (accordiug to the Hindus), 2125 of the Yudhishṭhira Saka (according to the Jains), corresponding to 509 B. C.

Lastly referring to this extraordinary meeting of Sañkara and Kumârila on his funeral pyre, the Jina Vijaya declares :

—(Vide Ibid. p. 6)

"पश्चात् पंचदशे वर्षे शंकरस्य गते सति ।
भट्टाचार्यकुमारस्य दर्शनं कृतवान् शिवः ॥"

" Thereupon, when 15 years had elapsed from his birth, Sañkara met Bhaṭṭâchârya for the first and the last time."

It will be, thus seen, that Sañkara met Kumârila in Ruddhapura near Prayâga in the act of self-immolation in his 16th year, that is about 493 B. C- in which year, therefore, Kumârila Bhaṭṭa, the great advocate of the Karma-Mîmâṁsâ passed away from the world.

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa must have been therefore a contemporary of Mahâvîra Vardhamâna himself, the Founder of the Jaina religion and philosophy, as stated in the Jina Vijaya and in Chitsukha's Bṛihat Sañkara Vijaya.

In conclusion, the Jina Vijaya refers to King Sudhanvan, as a contemporary of Kumârila and Sañkara, and speaks of him, in unmistakable terms, as a wicked king and as a persecutor of the pious Jainas, In fact it says :

"सुधन्वनामको राजा सोऽपि दुष्ट स्तदा भुवि ।
जिनानां यने साधूनां कृतं कदन मद्भुतम् ॥"

(Vide Ibid. p. 6).

that instead of allowing him to go away in possession of all their secret of doctrines and the weak points of their philosphy and religion, and turn their own logic against themselves, they will be acting well if they do away with him altogether. One day, when they were all seated on the high terrace of their Teacher's grand palace, chitchatting and playing with one another in the bright moonlight, they received a hint from their venerable teacher and managed to throw him out of the terrace; and poor Kumārila, bewildered at this sudden turn, fell shouting "If the holy Vēdas are true revelations—they will save me from death." He came to the ground quite unhurt, though one of his eyes got slightly injured, on account of its having come in contact with a hard substance. The biographers add "His eye was injured, because he had some doubt about the revelation of the Vēdas," for he used the expression "If the holy Vêdas." However, somehow or other, Kumārila managed to escape with his life from his Guru's place; and ever since that time, he became an uncompromising oppenent and the bitterest enemy of the Jainas. He carried on a regular war with them—driving them from court to court with the help of many mighty potentates and kings such as Sudhanvan, King of Dvārakā in Saurāshtra, whom he converted to the religion of the Vēdic-*Karma-Mârga* which he preached from one end of the country to the other.

Mādhava gives an interesting account of what Kumārila did in the court of king Sudhanvan, at the very commence-

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'Even that wicked king named Sudhanvan flourished at the same time. It was under his reign that the terrible persecution of the pious Jains took place.'

From this long quotation it will be clear that Kumârila's opponents were *Jains* and not Buddhists, and that he carried on a ruthless war of a controversy against the followers of Mahâvîra.

ment of his Biography (Sarga I. Verses 28 to 98), though incidentally we are told that the celebrated Bhaṭṭa had visited many other courts before arriving there. We cannot say that the account given by Mādhava has altogether no historical value. There cannot be any doubt after perusing the Tāmrapatrānuśāsana issued by [137] King Sudhanvan addressed to Śaṅkara Bhagavatpāda himself on the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Āśvina in the year 2663 of the Yudhishṭhira Śaka, corresponding to 478 B.C., and after duly considering the adverse account given in the Jina Vijaya, that the story of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa is mainly based on historical facts, though there is, undoubtedly, a good deal of exaggeration and even misrepresentation of facts with regard to some minor matters in many of the Śaṅkara Vijayas. Mādhava gives a somewhat extraordinary account of the birth and early life of Kumārila—and especially a remarkable anecdote of what happened in the court of King Sudhanvan, a descendant of Yudhishṭhira and King of Dvârakā (Saurāshṭra) and that time, who had early embraced the Jainism of Mahāvīra and who had given special encouragement to this new sect of Nirgranthi-Jainas, by bestowing upon them all the chief offices in his kingdom,—such as his chief priests and councillors. We would have certainly passed over the said account as somewhat incredible and sectarian, had it not been for the fact that it is substantially corroborated by Ānandagiri in his Prâchīna Śaṅkara Vijaya from which Mâdhava and Sadânanda appear to have taken the account of Kumārila's life, word by word, and even verse by verse, without any material alterations either in the diction or in

[137] The full text of King Sudhanvan's Copper Plate Grant has been published by His Holiness the late Srî Saṅkarâchârya of the Dvârakâ Maṭha at p, 29 of his " Vimarśa."

the style, even at the risk of subjecting themselves to the charge of plagiarism [138] and repetition.

In the vey first Sarga of his work, Ānandagiri begins with an account of King Sudhanvan and Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, whom he respectively considers to be an incarnation of Indra the King of the Gods, and Subrahmaṇya the Commander-in-chief of their forces; and as the work is still in manu-cripts, we give its full text below, only so far as the account of these two personages are concerned, with a view to enable our readers to compare the same with the respective accounts given by both Mādhava and Sadānanda in the very first chapter of their respective Śaṅkara Vijayas—Śrimat Śaṇkara Digvijaya and Śri Śaṇkara Digvijaya Sāra—published each with a commentary of Dhanapati Śuri in the Dēvanāgarī character. Ānandagiri says:—

अथेन्द्रो नृपतिर्भूत्वा प्रजा धर्मेण पालयन् ।
सुधन्वनाम्ना प्रख्यातः सौराष्ट्रेष्वभवत् सुधीः ॥

[138] A comparison of the very first Sarga of our so-called Mâdhavâcharaya's (Sri Vidyâraṇya's) Sankara Vijaya with the first Sarga of Sadânanda's Sankara Vijaya, clearly shows that more than half the number of stanzas contained in the one are found in tact, without the slightest change, in the other; while the major portion of the rest found in the other. For instance, compare the stanzas 1, 28, 30 to 34, 40, 41, 43, 45, 48, 49, 53 to 56, 58 to 70, and 72 of the first Sarga of Mâdhava's Sankara Vijaya with stanzas 4, 5, 7 to 10, 12, 14, 19 to 21, 25 to 26 of the first Sarga of Sadânanda's Digvijaya Sâra. In fact the number of stanzas that are common to both the works are so many that it will be easier to point out which stanzas are exceptionally the property of each of these authors. Of course, the introductory portion is different in each.

One or other of these authors must clearly be guilty of plagiarism; but it might be said that the famous Vidyâraṇya Mâdhavâchârya could

कृत्वा द्वारवतीं स्वस्य राजधानीं स भूपतिः ।
दिवं चकार पृथिवीं स्वपुरीममरावतीम् ॥

स बाल्य एव जैनानां समयं समुपाश्रितः ।
निरादरोऽभूद्यज्ञेषु वेदेषु विबुधेषु च ॥

सर्वज्ञोऽव्यसतां शास्त्रे कृत्रिमश्रद्धयाऽन्वितः ।
प्रतीक्षमाणः कौञ्चारिं मेञ्यामास सौगतान ॥

not be guilty of such a charge and that the poor Sadânanda, of unknown fame, must have copied his work from Mādhavâchārya's. But a further comparison of these stanzas with those found in the first Sarga of Ānandagiri's Prâchîna Śaṅkara Vijaya—and especially with the stanzas quoted above from the said work, which is admitted by both Mâdhava and Sadânanda as the main source of their respective works, and which they evidently copy in profusion, clearly and unmistakably shows that both these writers—Mâdhava and Sadânanda—are equally guilty of plagiarism. It must, however, be said in fairness to Sadânanda that he copies the stanzas from Prâchîna Śaṅkara Vijaya without much modification, but Mâdhava here and there makes slight verbal modifications and additions to set off his own poetical talents; and is, for that very reason,—as the celebrated poet Bâṇa Bhaṭṭa says in his famous introduction to the Harsha Charita—

"अन्यवर्णपरावृत्त्या बन्धचिह्ननिगूहनैः ।
अनाख्यातः सतां मध्ये कविश्चौरो विभाव्यते ॥"—

more easily found out as a plagiarist—as a *Chora kavi*. Compare also my analysis of Canto II of Mâdhava's Śaṅkara Vijaya given at pages 35 and 36 of my 'Successors of Śaṅkarâchârya'. Of course, all references to Kânchî Maṭha contained in the Prâchîna Śaṅkara Vijaya and Vyâsâchalîya have been carefully omitted by these authors, and opportunities have been taken to substitute the name of the Śṛiṅgêri Maṭh wherever it was possible.

It is better, once for all, to consider at this place if Mâdhava's Śaṅkara Vijaya had been really written by the well-known Śrî Vidyâraṇya Mâdhavâchârya. What evidence is there to show that

ततः स तारकागति रजनिष्ट महीतले ।
भट्टपदाभिधा यस्य भूषा दिवसुदृशा मभूत् ॥

this Sankara Vijaya was actually written by that famous and prolific writer of more than one hundred works on the two Mîmâmsâs? In the body of the work itself there is nothing to show that this Śaṅkara Vijaya was written by Vidyâraṇya Mādhavâchârya. The work was first published with a commentary called 'Diṇḍima' under the name of Mâdhavāchârya on the *title-page* in Nâgarî character in Ganapat Krishṇāji Press at Bombay in 1863, and in Telugu character in the Book Depot Press at Bangalore in 1864. The publishers of both these editions had not *then* the boldness to ascribe the work to Vidyâraṇya. Finding that the book passed off without much objection for one of the works of Mâdhavâchârya, it was published a second time in the Ânandâśrama Series with a number of omissions and additions in the body of the work in 1891 at Poona with two commentaries—*Advaiṭa-Sāmrajya-Lakshmi* and Diṇḍima—as the work of Vidyâraṇya himself, and was described in the title-page as "श्रीविद्यारण्यविरचितः श्रीमच्छंकरदिग्विजयः" Nowhere in the body of the work itself is the name of Mādhavâchârya or Vidyâraṇya to be found as the author of the work. In the last verse of each of the sixteen *Sargas* of the said composition, the author simply calls himself as 'Mâdhava' without any honorific prefix or suffix, and the work itself is called under the more modest name of "Samkshepa-Śaṅkarajaya", implying thereby that the work was merely an abridgment from a larger work or works that existed prior to the time of the author. Compare, for instance, the last verse of the first and the last Sargas, which run respectively as follows :—

"इति श्रीमाधवीये त-दुपोद्घातकथापरः ।
संक्षेपशंकरजये सर्गो ऽयं प्रथमो ऽभवत् ॥"

... ...

इति श्रीमाधवीये त-च्छारदापीठवासगः ।
संक्षेपशंकरजये सर्गः पूर्णोऽपि षोडशः ॥

स्फुटयन् वेदतात्पर्यं मभा ज्जैमिनिमूत्रितम् ।
सहस्रांशु रिवाऽनूरु-व्यञ्जितं भासय ञ्जगत् ।।
राज्ञः सुधन्वनः प्राप नगरीं स जयन् दिशः ।
प्रत्युद्गम्य क्षितीन्द्रोऽ विधिव त्तमपूजयत् ।।
सोऽभिनन्द्याऽऽशिषा भूप मासीनं काञ्चनासने ।
जगाद कोकिलव्याजाद् राजानं पण्डिताग्रणीः ।।
"मलिनै श्चे न्न संग स्ते नीचैः काककुलैः पिक ।
श्रुतिदूषकनिर्ह्लादैः श्लाघनीय स्तदा भवेः ।।"

Referring to this Sankara Vijaya, the late Pandit N. Bhâshyāchārya in his 'Age of Srî Sankarāchārya' (p. 10), says :—

"This work is said to have been written by Mâdhâvachârya. It cannot be the famous Mâdhavâchârya; for it is usual for him to give out, at the beginning or end of every one of his works, the name of his *Guru* and his *geneology*, or some other description regarding himself. Such is not the case with the present writer; and further there is a great difference between the two as regards the style. The writer of this work must evidently be some modern author of that name: and he must, we think, have belonged to the Sṛingēri Maṭh from the fact that he gives undue prominence to that Maṭh"

We know from very reliable sources that this Mâdhavîya Sankara Vijaya was compiled by a well-known Samskṛit scholar who passed away from this world just about eight years ago, under the pseudonym of "Mâdhava"—a synonym for 'Nârayaṇa'—specially to extol the greatness of the Sṛingēri Maṭh, whose authority had been seriously questioned by the Kumbhakoṇam Maṭh, the Āchâryas of the latter Maṭh claiming exclusive privilege of being entitled to the title of '*Jagadgurus*' for the whole of India, as being the direct Successors of Srî Sankara Bhagavatpâda's own Maṭh, established by him at Kânchî, the greatness of which had been unnecessarily extolled by Raja-chūḍâmaṇi Dîkshita, Vallîsahâya Kavi and Vēnkaṭarâma Sarman in their respective works, *Sankarābhudaya, Āchārya Digvijaya* and *Sankara Bhagavatpāda Charitra.*

निर्ग्रन्थिनो निशम्यैनां वाचं तात्पर्यगर्भिताम् ।
नितरां चरणस्पृष्टा भुमंगा इव चुक्रुधुः ॥

छित्वा युक्तिकुठारेण जैनसिद्धान्तशाखिनम् ।
स तद्ग्रन्थेन्धनै श्चीर्णैः क्रोधज्वाला मवर्धयत् ॥

उपन्यस्यत्सु साक्षेपं खण्डयत्सु परस्परम् ।
तेषूदतिष्ठ न्निर्घोषो भिन्दन्निव रसातलम् ॥

अधः पेतु र्बुधेन्द्रेण क्षताः पक्षेषु तत्क्षणम् ।
व्यूढकर्कशतर्केण तथागतधराधराः ॥

About fifty years ago, in this very city of Madras, as many may still remember, a fierce controversy raged between the adherents of the Kumbhakoṇam Maṭh on the one hand, and those of the Sṛingēri Maṭh headed by Bangalore Siddhānti Subrahmaṇya Sāstri and the two able brothers — Kumbhakoṅm Srīnivâsa Sāstri and Kumbhakoṇam Nārāyaṇa Sāstri—sons of Rāmasvāmi Sâstri, a *protege* of the Sṛingēri Maṭh, on the other. We have very strong reasons to believe that this *Śaṅkara Digvijaya* ascribed to Mādhava, the *Śaṅkara Vijaya Vilāsa* ascribed to Chidvilâsa, and the *Śāṅkara Digvijaya Sāra,* ascribed to Sadânanda, had all been brought into existence by one or other of these three scholars, about that period, in answer to the Saṅkara Vijayas aseribed to Râjachūḍâmaṇi Dīkshita and Vallīsahâya Kavi.

Though the author of this Śaṅkara Vijaya in question allowed his composition to pass off for that of the famous Mâdhavâchârya, he had been very careful,—as he himself had personally told us—to leave unmistakable marks of his Individuality and identity sufficiently preserved in the work itself. Though in the very first stanza of this work, the author wants us to believe that he is the famous Mādhavâchârya, the disciple of Vidyâtīrtha, the Paramaguru of Vidyâraṇya, by the expression "Srīvidyâtīrthâ-rūpiṇam", he is cautious enough to suggest his own meaning of the expression in the commentary, really written by himself, but ascribed to one Dhanapati Sûri—an imaginary name. The first stanza, as a matter of fact runs as follows:

ततः प्रक्षीणदर्पेषु जैनेषु वसुधाधिपम् ।
बोधयन् बहुधा वेद-वचांसि प्रशशंस स्पः ।।

बभाषे ऽथ धराधीशो विद्यायत्तौ जयाजयौ ।
यः पतित्वा गिरेः श्रृंगा दव्यय स्तन्मतं ध्रुवम् ।।

निर्गन्थिन रेतदाकर्ण्य परस्पर मलोकयन् ।
द्विजाग्रय स्तु स्मरन् वेदा नारुरोह गिरेः शिरः ।।

"यदि वेदाः प्रमाणं स्यु र्भूयात् का चि न्न मे क्षतिः ।"
इत्युक्त्वा न्यपत त्तस्माद् गिरेः श्रृंगाद् द्विजोत्तमः ।।

"प्रणम्य परमात्मानं श्रीविद्यातीर्थरूपिणम् ।
प्राचीनशंकरजये सारः संगृह्यते मया ।।"

The commentator after explaining the apparent meaning of 'Vidyâtîrtha' as applied to the so-called Parama Guru of Mâdhavâchârya, goes on to explain the author's own real meaning by saying:

"यद्वा, श्रीविद्यातीर्थरूपिणं, तार्किकादिकल्पितैः कुतर्कैर्मलिनीकृतायाः विद्यायाः तन्मलापकरणेन शोधकत्वात् विद्यातीर्थः, श्रिया "ब्रह्मविद्या" ख्यिकया युक्तः श्रीविद्यातीर्थः ।"

By this, he clearly wants us to understand the expression 'Vidyātîrtha', not as referring to the Paramâchârya of Sri Vidyâraṇya, but as referring to the author's own revered brother and teacher, the great advocate of Hinduism and the editor of that bilingual monthly journal "*Brahma Vidyā*" which continued to be published in Saṁskṛit and Tamil, until the very last days of his death.

In the 2nd stanza, which is advisedly omitted in the printed editions but is preserved in the manuscript copy written by the author himself and placed under the name of Saṅkara Vijaya Sâra in the Adyar Libray (Vide, General No. 1784, Shelf No. XX—1, 51 of the Adyar Library)—

अपि लोकगुरुः शैला तूलपिण्ड इवाऽपतत् ।
श्रुति रात्मशरण्यानां व्यसनं नोच्छिनत्ति किम् ॥

श्रुत्वा तदद्भुतं कर्म द्विजा दिग्भ्यः समाययुः ।
घनघोष मिवा ऽऽकर्ण्य निकुञ्जेभ्यः शिखावलाः ॥

" व्यासाचलप्रमुखपूर्वकपण्डितक्ष्मा-
भृत्संभृतोच्चतरकाव्यतरोः सुरीतेः ।
विद्वन्मधव्रतसुखोरुरसानि सर्वा
ण्यादातु मर्थकुसुमा न्यह मक्षमोऽस्मि ॥ २ ॥"—

the author plainly desires to acknowledge that he was only making an abstract from writers like Vyâsachala Paṇḍita etc. of old; but in the printed editions " Vyâsâchala " which is found in stanza 17—

" नेता यत्रोल्लसति भगवत्पादसंज्ञो महेशः,
शान्ति र्यत्र प्रकचति रसः शेषवा नुज्वलाद्यैः ।
यत्राऽविद्याक्षति रपि फलं, तस्य काव्यस्य कर्ता
धन्यो व्यासाचलकविवरः, तत्कृतिज्ञाश्च धन्याः ॥ "

—is attempted to be identified with the author Mādhava himself, thereby suggesting that Vyâsâchala was the name of no author of a separate work on the Life of Śaṅkara, as has been plainly stated by Ātmabodhēndra in his commentary on Jagadguru Ratnamâlâ. The stanza was evidently intended by the author to praise the greatness of the poet Vyâsâchala and his work known as Vyâsâchalîya Śaṅkara Vijaya; but the admission of the existence of such a work which really pointed to the advocates of the Śriṅgēri Maṭh—at whose instance our author was obliged to compile this poem;—and so the author by commenting "व्यासाचलकविवरः" as meaning "व्यास इव अचलः स्थिरश्चासौ कविश्रेष्ट श्चेतिव्यासाचलकविवरो माधवः कृतकृत्यः" makes it as an attribute of 'Mâdhava' himself. If this explanation be accepted, the author will undoubtedly be guilty of *self-praise*. To be consistent with this explanation, the 3rd stanza

दृष्ट्वा त मक्षतं राजा श्रद्धां श्रुतिषु सन्दधे ।
निनिन्द बहुधा ऽऽत्मानं खलसंसर्गदूषितम् ॥
सौगता स्त्वब्रुवन् नेदं प्रमाणं मतनिर्णये ।
मणिमन्त्रौषधै रेवं देहरक्षा भवे दिति ॥

in the said manuscript copy is omitted in the printed editions. The manuscript copy reads:

"यत्नाद्यदल्पधिषणासृणिनाग्रहीक्षं
शक्यं तदत्र सरसं सकलं गृहीत्वा ।
कश्चिन्महेश्वरगुरुस्तुतिभिन्नमोहः
संक्षेपशंकरजयस्त्रज मातनोमि ॥ ३ ॥"

For the same reason, the following stanza (st. 7) which appears before the stanza beginning with "पयोब्धिविवरो" etc. is also omitted in the printed editions:

"तत्तादृशोत्तमकवित्वविदां कवित्वं
नातिप्रशंसति गुरुं किमु मामकीनम् ।
वैयर्थ्य मित्थ मुभयत्र समेत्य शुद्धयौ
बुद्धेः प्रवर्तयति बुद्धयधिकाः क्षमध्वम् ॥ ७ ॥"

Further, the first and the seventeenth stanzas themselves clearly show that the author though undoubtedly possessed of a master mind—which was able to compose more than 100 works before his eighteenth year—had not sufficient time given to him to write the whole of this poem himself, and that he had to embody all the essential stanzas found in the Prâchîna Sankara Vîjaya of Ânandagiri, and Sankara Vijaya Kâvya of Vyâsâchala, in this, his hastily prepared work; so that he—or rather the advocates of the Sringeri Maṭh—might at once produce this work before the public as Mâdhavâchârya's, in answer to the numerous works that were produced by the advocates of the Kumbhakoṇam Maṭh.

It is noteworthy that even the so-called commentator Dhanapati Sûri simply calls the author as Mâdhava, and nowhere, throughout his

दुर्विधै रन्यथा नीते प्रत्यक्षेऽर्थेऽपि पार्थिवः ।
सन्धा मुग्रतरां तत्र व्यधात् क्रोधसमन्वितः ॥

पृच्छामि भवतः किञ्चि द्वक्तुं न प्रभवन्ति ये ।
यन्त्रोपल्पेषु सर्वां स्तान् घातयिष्या म्यसंशयम् ॥

commentary does he identify this Mâdhava with the famous Mâdhavâcharya or Vidyaranya, whose commentaries on the Vedas and Upanishads themselves are sufficient to fill up the shelves of a big library. It is clear from the following stanza (st. 7) in the printed edition:

"धन्यमन्यविवेकशून्यसुजनंमन्याब्धिकन्यानटी-
नृत्योन्मत्तनराधमाधमकथासंमर्ददुष्कर्दमैः ।
दिग्धां मे गिर मद्य शंकरगुरुक्रीडासमुद्यद्यशः
पारावारसमुच्चलज्जलझरैः संक्षाळयामि स्फुटम् ॥"

what sort of life the author was leading in his early years, and how he yearned to atone for his previous career as the writer of popular plays at the dictate of persons of vulgar taste, sullied by 'bazaar dramas of ephemeral evenings'; and how he had taken an active part even in enacting such plays. It is also clear from stanza 8—

"वन्ध्यासूनुखरीविषाणसदृशक्षुद्रक्षितीन्द्रक्षमा-
शौर्यौदार्यदयादिवर्णनकलादुर्वासनावासिनाम् ।
मद्वाणी मधिवासयामि यमिन स्त्रैलोक्यरंगस्थली-
नृत्यत्कीर्तिनटीपटीरपटलीचूर्णैं विकीर्णैः क्षितौ ॥"—

what a master of the dramatic art the author was, and how easily he drew his figures from Dramaturgy.

Nowhere do we learn that Sri Vidyāraṇyā Mâdhavâchârya was ever an actor or a playwright. In the following stanza (st. 9):

"पीयूषद्युतिखण्डमण्डनकृपारूपान्तरश्रीगुरु-
प्रेमस्थेमसमर्हणार्हमधुरज्याहारसूनोत्करः ।

इति संचित्य गोत्रेशो घट माशीविषान्वितम् ।
आनीयाऽत्र कि मस्तीति पप्रच्छ द्विजसौगतान् ।।

वक्ष्यामहे वयं भूप श्वःप्रभातेऽस्य निर्णयम् ।
इति प्रसाद्य राजानं जग्मु र्भूसुरसौगताः ।।

प्रौढोऽयं नवकालिदासकवितासन्तानसन्तानको
दद्या दद्य समुद्यतः सुमनसा मामोदपारम्पर्गीम् ।।"

the author calls himself "Nava Kâlidâsa"—a new incarnation of Kâlidâsa, the great Dramatist,—and such an epithet never appears to have been applied to Srî Vidyâraṇya, who may be perhaps called "Nava Sañkara"—an incarnation of Adi Sañkarâchârya himself. The stanza further shows how fully conscious, the real author was, of his great poetical talents and how confident he was of satisfying the Paṇḍits of his time. It also shows that he was the author of a number of poetical works—chiefly dramas.

The next stanza (I-10):

"सामोदै रनुमोदिता मृगमदै रानन्दिताचन्दनै
र्मन्दारै रभिनन्दिता प्रियगिरा काश्मीरजैः स्मेरिता ।
वा गेषा नवकालिदासविदुषो दोषोज्झिता दुष्कवि-
व्रातै र्निष्करुणै क्रियेत विकृता धेनु स्तुरुष्कै रिव ।।"

shows that our author obtained the titles of 'Paṇḍita Sudarśana' and 'Bhaṭṭaśri' 'Bâlasarasvatî' at Benares, Bengal and Kâśmîr and that his work was composed when the "Cow Question" was engaging the serious attention of the inhabitants of the city of Madras. The commentator, who is really the author himself, after explaining the ordinary meaning of the stanza, goes on to explain the inner meaning contained in the following terms:

"तथैवंभूता सर्वदोषविनिर्मुक्ता नवीनकालिदासस्य विदुषो माधवस्यैषा वाग् दुष्टानां कवीनां समुदायै रत एव निष्करुणै र्विकृता विकार मन्यथाभावं प्राप्ता क्रियेतेत्यर्थः । सामोदै रिति,

पद्मा इव तप स्तेपु: कण्ठद्वयसपाथसि ।
भास्करं प्रति भूदेवा: सोऽपि प्रादुरभू त्तत: ।।
सन्दिश्य वचनीयांश मादित्ये ऽन्तर्हिते द्विजा: ।
भट्टाचार्यं पुरस्कृत्य समाजग्मु र्नृपान्तिकम् ।।

पुरुषपक्षे, आसमन्ता दानन्दसहितै: सद्भि रिति यावत् ।...... मृगमदै: मांसभक्षकब्राह्मणै रिति यावत् । ......पक्षे ऽचन्दनै रिति, अकारप्रश्लेष:......ऐहिकाद्यखिलेष्टविषयविमुखा स्तैरिति यावत् । आनन्दिता अभिपूजितेत्यर्थ: ।......पक्षे मन्देभ्योऽपि......अं... विष्णु रान्त्यात्मत्वेन ददातीति मन्दारै:......काश्मीरजै:...... काश्मीरदेशोद्भवै विद्वद्भि: प्रियगिरा......आनन्दिता अभिनन्दिता......स्मेरिता जनितानन्देत्यर्थ: ।"

It is clear from this that the author Mâdhava—only a pseudonym for Nārāyaṇa—obtained three titles (1) *Paṇḍita Sudarśana*" from the hands of the Paṇḍits of Benares (Avimukta-Kshētra), (2) "*Bhaṭṭaśrī*" from the Paṇḍits of Bengal—the flesh-eating Brâhmaṇas of Calcutta,—and (3) "*Bālasarsvati*" from the Paṇḍits of Kāśmīr; and if the commentator was not the author himself, we will not be in a position to get out this inner meaning from the above stanza.

The following two stanzas (15 and 17):

"क्वेदं शंकरसद्गुरो: सुचरितं? क्वाऽहं वराकी? कथं
निर्बध्नामि! चिरार्जितं मम यश: किं मज्जयस्यम्बुधौ? ।
इत्युक्त्वा चपलां पलायितवतीं वाचं नियुक्ते बलात्
प्रत्याहृत्य गुणस्तुतौ कविगण:, चित्रं गुरो गौरवम् ।।
रूक्षैकाक्षरवाङ्निघण्टुशरणै रौणादिकप्रत्यय-
प्राये हन्त! यङन्तदन्तुरतरै दुर्बोधदूरान्वयै: ।
धीराणां कवितावतां कतिपयै: कष्टेन कृष्टै: पदै:,
हाहा! स्या द्दशगा किरातवितते रेणीव वाणी मम ।।"

ज्ञात्वा गूढं प्रधानेभ्यः सौगताः कलशस्थितम् ।
निर्ग्रन्थिनोऽपि संहृष्टाः सभां प्रापुर्महीपतेः ॥
जैनास्तु ज्ञातवृत्तान्ता भुजंगोऽस्तीत्यवादिषुः ।
भोगीशभोगशयनो भगवानिति भूसुरः ॥

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show that the author was with great difficulty persuaded by his elders—probably by his own father and elder brother to associate himself with this plagiarism and fabrication, and that he consented to compose this nefarious work much against his own will and conscience. The first of these stanzas clearly indicates how unwilling the author was to undertake this work and how he was forced by his elder brother—probably by his father also who was getting a decent honorarium every month from the Sṛiṅgēri Maṭh—to set his hand to this reprehensible and discreditable undertaking. The second stanza shows how unwilling the author was to copy out from the works of other poets, whom he considered to be far inferior to himself.

These references are quiet sufficient, we think, to justify any critic to come to the conclusion that this Sankara Vijaya, ascribed to Mâdhava, could not be the composition of the famous Vidyâraṇya Mâdhavâchârya and the pseudonym might after all be a mere synonym for the author's own real name. Further, it is clear from the work itself that the author—who was really bent upon making his poem amusive and instructive—makes Saṅkara, without any scrupies whatsoever, a contemporary of Nilakanṭha, Haradaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭabhâskara, Abhinavagupta, Murâri Mis'ra, Udayanâchârya and Dharmagupta. The great teacher is also said to have met Bâṇa, Daṇḍin, Mayūra and Srîharsha, the author of the Khaṇḍana Khaṇḍakhâdya, Naishadhîyacharita, and other works. We know from reliable sources that these several authors lived in different periods between the first and the thirteenth ceeturies A.D., and these could never have *all* been contemporaries of the great Saṅkara, who lived only for 32 years on this earth. The late Pâṇḍit N. Bhashyâchârya has given his reasons for showing that all these persons mentioned by Mâdhava in his poem, could not be contemporaries of Saṅkarâchârya, and we would simply refer our readers to pages 9 and 10 of his "Age of Srî Saṅkarâchârya". The

श्रुत्वा भूसुरवाक्यं त द्रदनं पृथिवीपतेः ।
कासारशोषणम्लानसारसश्रिय मादधे ।।

अथ प्रोवाच दिव्या वाक् सम्राज मशरीरिणी ।
नुदन्ती संशय तस्य सर्वेषा मपि शृण्वताम् ।।

सत्य मेव महाराज! ब्राह्मणा य दभाषत ।
मा कृथाः संशयं तत्र, भव सत्यप्रतिश्रवः ।।

श्रुत्वा शरीरिणो वाणी ददर्श वसुधाधिपः ।
मूर्ति मधुरिपोः कुम्भे सुधा मिव सुधाधिपः ।।

निरस्ताखिलसन्देहो विन्यस्तेतरदर्शनात् ।
व्यधा दाज्ञां ततो राजा वधाय श्रुतिविद्विपाम् ।।

ततो भगवत स्तस्य विग्रहं परमादभुतम् ।
त्रिलोकसुन्दराख्येन प्रतिष्ठा मकरोत् पुरि ।।

स्कन्दानुसारिणा राज्ञा जैना धर्मद्विषो हताः ।
योगीन्द्रेणेव योगघ्ना विघ्ना स्तत्त्वावलम्बिना ।।

हतेषु तेषु दुष्टेषु भूसुरः परितो बभौ ।
वर्णाश्रमसमाचारं स्थापयन् भुवि वैदिकम् ।।

कुमारिलमृगेन्द्रेण हतेषु जिनहस्तिषु ।
निष्प्रत्यूह मवर्धन्त श्रुतिशाखाः समन्ततः ।। "

author in his great enthusiasm to write something of these poets and writers makes them all contemporaries of Sankara on the model of Bhoja Prabandha. To attribute such inconsistencies and anachronisms to Srî Vidyâraṇya Mâdhavâchârya would be simply monstrous and blasphemous.

It will be unnecessary for us to give here a full translation of the above passage from Prāchīna Śaṅkara Vijaya ; and the following short summary of the corresponding passage from Mādhava's Saṅkara Digvijaya as given by Mr. C. N. Krishnaswami Aiyar in his "Life and Times of Śrī Śaṅkarācharya" will be sufficient to give an idea of the passage to our readers :—

"He (Kumārila Bhaṭṭā) somehow escaped with his life, and from that moment, became the most uncompromising opponent of the Jain faith and made in his mission to carry on a ruthless war of controversy against its followers. We have, only the account of what he did at the Court of King Sudhanvan, though incidentally we are told that he had invisited many other courts before arriving there. Here ensued a mighty controversy between the Jain teachers at the King's Court (the King was also a Jain) and Bhatta; the uproar and din caused by which is said to have shook the very heavens! Bhatta exposed their foibles and fallacies with relentless logic, shattered all their strongholds and vanquished them everywhere. Then he explained to the King his chief tenets—that the *Vedas* were true and repeated verbally even as they are and that they, therefore formed the best proof of their own authority as well as the touchstone of the authority of the Smritis, Puranas and other Scriptural books. स्वतप्रमाणं, परत: प्रमाणम् । He held that the earlier part of the Vedas relating to the sacrifices was alone capable of salvaging men so that the really religious part of life according to him was to perform the rites enjoined in the *Karma Kanda* of the Veda. But the King's turn for abstract reason was apparently only of indifferent excellence, and so he bluntly said :—"In matters of dialectics success

depends on the amount of ones knowledge and the strength of ones polemical power; and I therefore declare that I shall hold for the faith of that man among you to be true and enduring, who, throwing himself from the top of the adjacent hill remains unscathed!" Here upon the Jains merely kept looking at each other but the Brahmin readily accepted the challenge and took the risk. The ordeal was accordingly gone through before a large concourse of people. Kumarila leaped down the hill and soft-landed, 'like a pillow stuffed with down.'

"The Jains, however argued that it was not the right test in setting the veracity of faiths, for the body in such cases would be protected from mishap by means of charms, drugs, or yogic practices. The King was wroth and proposed a second test as a kind of ultimatum. He ordered a jar to be brought into the assembly with its mouth carefully covered and sealed and declared that he would embrace the faith of that party which could divulge exactly what was inside the covered jar. The parties met next morning and the Jains declared that the jar contained a snake, while Bhatta, emphatically said it was god Vishnu reclining on his serpent couch. At these words the King's face, wore a wan look like the lotus that withers in a dry pond. From the awkward predicament the King was soon relieved; for an oracle from the air proclaimed that the Bhatta was right, and the other party was wrong! The King rid of his doubts instantaneously issued the memorable edict:—'Let all those my subjects be slain who fail to oust the heretics whether they be old or young from the snow-capped mountain to the bridge of Rama!'"

We cannot attach much importance to this version about Kamarila Bhatta given either by Anandagiri or

Madhava. In the decadent days of Buddhism or Jainism the adherents of these faiths could have been the targets for religious persecution or subjected to severe punishment and ignominy. The patronage given by the rulers of those *distant times to these heterodox systems of religious thoughts should have been gradually* transferred to Hinduism so as to effect a complete reconversion of the people to more or less an orientated ancient faith. Thus much may be freely accepted. But to prove that there was any religious persecution or holocaust of the adherents of these heterodox faiths, we have no tangible evidence. It is true, that in Europe during the Middle Ages various demonaic ways were adopted by the inquisitors to persecute the infidels. But taking a more sobre view about India and its non-aggressive inhabitants, and interpreting these legendary accounts, in the light of saner criticism, we have every reason to believe that these religious persecutions scarcely tarnished the pure image of the Indian society. History proves infallibly that believers of different faiths or religious callings amicably lived together for centuries. A relentless persecution for the sake of religion would never have been a fact in the history of India.

On the whole, however, Kumarila Bhatta seems to have succeded in converting many who belonged to the heterodox systems to Vedic Hinduism. Tradition confirms of his having had a large following. Bhatta was, as Smritis enjoin technically guilty of the offence of betraying his preceptor (*Gurudroha*) and he wanted to expiate for his sin by burning himself in a slow fire of grain-husk (*tushanala*). But he had heard of his more illustrious contemporary and wanted to meet him before his death with the satisfaction that his great mission would be continued by a worthier agent.

The news of Kumarila's self-immolation reached Sankara at Prayaga and he hurried to Ruddhapura to avert the gruesome end of Bhatta. He reached in time to see the great exponent of the *Karma marga* alive amidst the flames and vainly did he try to dissuade him from this suicidal act. But the adamant penitent Bhatta, directed Sankara to meet his famous pupil and advocate of *Mimamsa* doctrine Mandana Misra. In all likelihood, it may be a fact that Bhatta had ended his life in that strange fashion; for his nature as the traditional accounts reveal it, seems to have been highly susceptible to emotional fervour. Being terribly earnest and conscious also that nothing but a drastic step would clear him of the guilt, he underwent the fire ordeal. That act of self-sacrifice was in keeping with the casuistic nature of the doctrine he preached all his life.

We now come to the greatest achievement of Sankara—the polemics he had with Mandana Misra and its outcome. All the Sankara Vijayas have elaborately treated this important episode. Leaving Prayaga, Sankara journeyed to Mahishmati where Mandana was living. This great Mimamsaka was a faithful student of Bhatta. He is described as an avatara of Brahma and it is also said that his devoted spouse was a very learned lady and that all deemed her to be the goddess of learning herself. Mandana Misra was a Kanojiya Gowda Brahmana by caste. He was the chief of his place with great influence. He lived in a fine mansion in a grand fashion. It is related that even the parrots flitting in his spacious gardens mimicked the formula of the master–*Svata pramanam Paratha pramanam.* Madhava's Sankara Vijaya places the incident of the polemical disquisitions between, these great teachers relatively at the

outset of Sankara's *tour de triumphe.* Anandagiri on the otherhand makes Sankara gofrom Ruddhapura where Bhatta ended his life 'northwards and reaching Vidyalaya lying at the south-east of Hastinapura, now called Vijil bindu, where lived Mandana then.

Sankara repaired to Mandana Misra's residence and met him in controversy there. The account of the meeting narrated by Madhava seems to be untrustworthy. We can only infer from his description that Mandana, reared in the Karma Mimamsa ideology had an innate hatred for '*Maskarins*' (ascetics) as a class of people, whom he thought were unfit for entertainment. We are told by Anandagiri that Mandana was performing a '*Sraddha*' ceremony, at the time, when Sankara somehow 'dropped down in front of him' and desired Mandana to let him have the honour of a wordy bout with him. Now it so happened that Mandana had a worthy spouse named Bharati whose erudition and accomplishments were many. The polemical champions accordingly pitched upon her as their umpire. It was stipulated that the defeated party would become the adherent of the victor. In another words, Sankara if vanquished would become a *grihasta*,—the worst transgression which an ascetic could commit. Mandana in his turn agreed to become an anchorite and take to the *kāshaya vastra* (red-robe) from the hands of his own wife. On this rigid condition they met in argument which waxed day by day without a break. Bharati according to Madhava Sankara Vijaya did not sit and listen, but was attending to her own household duties. At the commencement of the dispute, she gave two garlands one for each of the disputants with a clear injunction that he whose garland begins to fade first, should consider himself outdone.

After a protracted period, Mandana's garland showed signs of fading first. Accordingly he owned defeat though in a sullen mood ; while his wife knowing now that her husband was no more a husband to her, prepared to leave the home. But Sankara did not allow her to do so. Mandana gracefully acquiesced in his fall and accordingly adopted the Sanyasa Dharma.

Later on, we hear of the very thrilling story about Sankara and Bharati. Bharati intervened and challenged Sankara to a controversy with her. The King of Saints objected to arguing with women but she showed precedents. She passed from one science to another and in all of them she was thrown overboard. Finding that she could not overcome her formidable opponent in any argument, she resolved to humble him by calling him to speak on the lore of Love or *Kama Sastra.* Sankara was antipathic to things erotic and if he failed to answer queries on this subject, he found that his reputation would be at stake. So he begged of her a month's time to consider the question. He went to the bank of Narmada and in the hole of a tree in a forest there, he left his body to be watched over by his disciples while his soul was away from its case. His Yogic experience helped him to metamorphose himself into the deadbody of a King called Amaruka which was about to be cremated. The dead King woke up as if from sleep and resumed his mundane existence.

The ministers and the queen consorts of the King found in him something extraordinary and suspected that the soul of some blessed being had taken a fancy to live in the royal body to enjoy life. Messengers were secretly sent to search for a human body hidden in forest or cavern and to burn it when apprehended, so that the great soul might stay with

them and the King continue to live long. Meanwhile Sankara in the corporal case of the King was gathering varied erotic experiences which, it is said, have come to posterity under the title [139] *Amarusataka*'—one hundred pieces of amatory verses depicting the infinite erotic moods and situations. The amorous surroundings had for sometime even made the great Sankara to forget the purpose for which he had taken so much pain of leaving his own body and living in an alien atmosphere. His disciples went searching for him as the time-limit for his return had

[139] No trace of this strange story can be found in any of the Sankara Vijayas. But Madhava in his biography of Sankara in the 9th and 10th Sargas has written that when Sankara was about to take his seat on the Sarvajna pītha, Goddess Sarada had pu him this question' 'कला कियत्यो वद पुष्पधन्वन: किमात्मिका किंच पदं समाश्रिता:। पूर्वे च पक्षे कथमन्यथा स्थिति: कथं युवत्यां कथमेव पुरुषे ।।' In reply to her, the great Samyamīndra, traversed all the sexologics, met her in all the arguments and triumphed. 'वात्स्यायनप्रोदित सूत्र जातं तदीय भाष्यं च विलोक्य सम्यक्। स्वयं व्यधत्ताभिनवार्थगर्भं निबन्धमेकं नृपवेषधारी ।।' from this we learn, that the Teacher could have written some treatise on the erotic Science and decidedly he could not be the author of the Amaru Sataka now extant. 'न तु अमरुशतक निर्माण सूचनमात्रमपि शंकरदिग्विजये समुपलभ्यते; न अपि अमरुशतके शारदा प्रश्नोत्तरानरूपं किमपि अस्ति तस्माद् एवं विधा निर्मूला जनश्रुतय: कथं प्रमाणत्वेन स्वीकर्तुमर्हा:?' (See introduction to Amaru Sataka by Narayana Rama Acharya Kavya Tirthâ). Sankara was a born rationalist; he would never have stooped down to perform this sort of miracle. Some inferior scribe, to give his imagination 'a local habitation and a name' might have woven this tissue of fancy and pure lie. Hence this strong romantic tale has to be dismissed as worthless and unfounded.

expired. They came to know of the miraculous resurrection of Amaruka ; they went to his city and sought his audience. They sang the cryptic song—" *Tatvamasi Râjan*" which at once stirred Sankara back to his realities. But, by this time the denizens of the King had found the body of Sankara and were just setting fire to it. The metamorphosed soul of Sankara fled back to its original habitat.

It is said that he prayed to God Nrisimha for succour, with whose benign grace his charred body regained its original lustre. His invocation to god Nrisimha is in the form of Sankashtanaśana Lakshmi Nrisimha Stotra [140].

Sankara established his supremacy in every phase of knowledge. According to Madhava Sankara Vijaya, Bharati returned back to her heavenly abode as she was the Goddess Sarasvati incarnate on earth due to a curse of the rishi Durvasas. But Chidvilasa and other biographers say that she accompanied Sankara to Sringeri, where he caused a shrine to be built, which he dedicated to her.

[140] Sankashtanaśana Lakshmi Nrisimha Stotra is a beauiful poem of 12 stanzas breathing fervour and resignation to God's will. It begins with !

श्रीमत्पयोनिधिनिकेतन चक्रपाणे
भोगीन्द्र भोगमणिरञ्जित पुण्यमूर्ते ।
योगीश शाश्वत शरण्य भवाब्धिपोत
लक्ष्मीनृसिंह मम देहि करावलंबम् ॥

It concludes with the Phala-sruti.

यन्माययोर्जितवपुः प्रचुरप्रवाहमग्नं शरण्य वितरोरु करावलंबम् ।
लक्ष्मीनृसिंहचरणात्तमधुव्रतेन स्तोत्रं कृतं सुखकरं भुवि शंकरेण ॥

This hymn finds a place in the stotra pustakas.

Mandana offered all his possessions as gift to Sankara and became his ardent devotee. He is the author of numerous works on Vedanta and Mimamsa (1) *Naishkarmya Siddhi*, (2) *Tattiriya Upanisahd Bhāshya Vārtika*, (3) *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad Bhāshya Vārtika*, (4) *Manasollasa*, a commentary on Sankara's Dakshinamurti Stotra, (5) *Panchīkarana Vārtika*, (6) *Brahma Siddhi*, (7) *Vidhi Viveka*. (8) *Vibhrama Vilāsa*. Undoubtedly he was the most illustrious of Sankara's pupils and was held in high esteem by his followers. This honour seemed to have provoked the jealousy of others which was the cause for the split among the disciples of the Acharya. A squabble arose over the writing of the Brahma Sutra bhashya, as reported by Madhava in his Sankara Vijaya, though much evidence cannot be attached to it. Sri Sankara wanted Suresvara charya to write the Vartika (poetical commentary) on the Sutra bhashya but Chitsukha and other friends of Padmapada objected to this, saying that Suresvaracharya might not have been a sincere convert to Sankara's system of philosophy and if he was allowed to write a Vartika on the Acharya's *magnum opus* he might try to colour it by his own doctrines of Karma–Marga. Upon this, Sankara gave a testwork for his pupil and the latter fully came up to the mark by writing the *Naishkarmya Siddhi*; but the oppositionist would not yield and Sankara vowed that his Sutra Bhashya should remain *sans Vârtika* rather than it be written by anyone else but Suresvaracharya. Padmapada during his tour, estranged from his Guru wrote a large commentary on the Sutra Bhashya. Unfortunately this work was burnt by his uncle who was a staunch Mimamsaka of the Prabhakara School. The repentent Padmapada returned to his master who came to know of the pathetic news, and by whose grace he re-wrote a part of the lost work, now known

as '*Panchapadika*' (a commentary on the Sutra Bhashya for the first five *padas*, but really covering the first four *sutras*). Suresvaracharya had to satisfy himself with writing *vârtikas* on the Upanishads of which two have seen the light of day *viz.* those on the Taittiriya and Brihadaranyaka Upanishad Bhashyas. Suresvaracharya lived till his 70th year, in Kanchi and died in a neighbouring village Punyarasā which was also named Mandana Misra agrahara after him.

Once when Sankara was sojourning in Kasi (Varānasi) he happened to be going with his disciples to take his midday dip in the Ganges. A chandala (according to the biographers, it was Shiva himself who appeared in that form to test Sankara's attitude towards the lowliest and the lost) with his dogs was passing by him, when the disciples shouted to him to stand clear of their path. This man, however turned about and asked the great Teacher how he might consistently preach Advaitism and practise such differentiating untouchability.—' Does it make any difference in this gem of heaven, the sun if he is reflected in the waters of the Ganges or in the gutter flowing through the scavenger's street? Does it make any difference in the *Akasa* enclosed in an earthern pot or in a vase of gold? In That thing, the Inner-being of all, the unruffled Ocean of Bliss and Light, what means this great delusion, this chimera of separateness, creating distinctions of Brahmana and Chandala?' [141] The great Sankara was struck aghast at the

[1] किं गङ्गांबुनि बिम्बितेऽम्वरमणौ चाण्डालवाटीपय:-
पूरे वान्तरमस्ति काञ्चनघटीमृत्कुम्भयोर्वाम्बरे ।
प्रत्यग्वस्तुनि निस्तरङ्ग सहजानन्दावबोधाम्बुधौ
विप्रोऽयं श्वपचोऽयमित्यपि महान् कोऽयं विभेद भ्रम: ।।

poser. Pertinent to that occasion, the gem of songs *Manīsha Panchakam* [142] gushed forth from him. It reveals to us what a wide sympathy the Acharya had for the commonalty !

Sankara at Sringeri lived for 12 years teaching the Vedanta. We have already referred to Sringeri where the saint had advised Mandana's wife Bharati to stay. She remained a nun and was happy to accompany her converted husband wherever he went. She was perfectly justified in the ways she adopted—donning the *Kâshâya*. Indeed she was very wise in following him and Sankara. Her immaculate life as a recluse and her peaceful end at Sringeri added lustre to her reputation. To place her in the niche of fame and everlasting glory, it is sufficient to know that Sankara considered her to be worthy of adoration and reverential worship.

He next visited Kanyakumari, at the confluence of the three seas, 'Sandhi' (Thiruchendur) Rameswaram, Gajaranya, Venkatachala, and Kalahasti etc. After a *pradakshina* tour, he finally settled at Kanchi, one among the seven great cities of Bharatavarsha — the famous centre of South Indian culture and civilisation. Through the Chola King Rajasena (who was this Chola ?) who was reigning

[142] Manîsha Panchakam is a gem of 5 stanzas containing the quintessence of the Advaita philosophy. It begins with:

जाग्रत्स्वप्न सुषुप्तिषु स्फुटतरा या संविदुज्जृम्भते
या ब्रह्मादि पिपीलिकान्त तनुषु प्रोता जगत्साक्षिणी ।
सैवाहं न च दृश्यवस्त्विति दृढप्रज्ञाऽपि यस्यास्ति चेत्
चाण्डालोऽस्तु स तु द्विजोऽस्तु गुरुरित्येषा मनीषा मम ।।

It is translated in many languages for its beauty and truth. A commentary to it, by Sri Sadasiva Brahmendra is also available.

then, the Acharya renovated many ruined temples, extended chiefly the temples of Ekamranatha and Varadaraja and rebuilt the city on a new plan with the shrine of Kamakshi in the centre (*Kamakottam*). [143] There Devi had been living in a cave (*Bila*) as an Ugra-kala (evil spirit), dreaded by the inhabitants. Sankara transformed her into a gentle and more benign form and installed her as the guardian deity of that place.

According to the tradition preserved in the annals of the Kanchi Matha (मौलाम्नाय:) and endorsed by authoritative biographers, Sankara ascended the 'Sarvajna Pitha' (the Seat of Omniscience). Thus his *Digvijaya* culminated in that grand ascension.

Sankara established a central institution (केन्द्रमठ) with religious jurisdiction over the whole of India. The Kanchi-Matha is known as Sarada Matha (it is not to be confounded with Sarada Pitha at Sringeri), and the seat as the Kamakoti Pitha. So, Sankara was its first incumbent. From this central institution radiated the other Advaita Mathas—

[143] Sankara did not confine himself only to spiritual things, it seems he took keen interest also in the secular welfare of the people. His town-planning, placing Kamakottam in the centre had made Kanchi, a golden city with spacious streets. An old Tamil poem, Perumbaṇaṛṛuppadai (பெரும்பாணாற்றுப்படை) gives a correct picture of the city as it flourished in that distant age :—

'பல்லிதழ்த் தாமரைப் பொகுட்டின் காண்வரத் தோன்றிச் சுடுமண் ஓங்கிய நெடுநகர் வரைப்பின்; மலர்தலை உலகத்துள்ளும் பலர்தொழ விழவுமேம்பட்ட பழவிறல் மூதூர்......கச்சி.'

Kanchi with its well defined topography was modelled after a full-petalled lotus—i.e. the *padmakosa* pattern of city.

Jyotir Matha (Joshi Mutt) in Badarikasrama, in the North; Dvaraka Matha (Sourashtra) in the West; Sringeri, in the South (Mysore); Govardhana (Puri) in the East, with Totaka, Padmapāda, Sureswara and Hasthâmalaka as their respective heads. The jurisdiction of these institutions, their traditions and observances, are elaborately treated in the Mathâmnayâs, believed to have been framed by Sankara himself.

Having established his divine mission, the incomparable Sankara attained his Brahmîbhâva (identity with Brahman) at Kanchi, in the precincts of Śri Kamakshi, in his 32nd year, in 2625 Kali, in the cyclic year Raktâkshi, corresponding to 476 B.C.

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APPENDIX—I

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF ADI S'ANKARA'S LIFE

	Kali	*B.C.*
Birth of Sri Śankara at Kalati on Vaisakha Sukla Panchami (cyclic year '*Nandana*').	2593	509
Upanayana of Śankara.	2598	504
In the beginning of his 8th year he lost his father *Sivaguru*.	2601	501
Completed the study of the four Vêdās and Vêdāngās.	2601	501
Got permission of his mother to enter the holy order of Sanyāsa (Kārtika Sukla Ekādasi, cyclic year '*Plava*').	2602	500
Initiated by Govinda Bhagavatpādā-chārya into *Krama Sanyasa* at Amara-kantha on the banks of the Narmada river. (Phālguna Suddha Dvitîya of the cyclic year '*Subhakrit*').	2603	499
Studied philosophical systems under Govinda Bhagavatpadāchārya.	2603 to 2605	499 to 497
Visited his Paramaguru, Gaudapâdâcharya who was aged 120 years by that time at Badarikâsrama on the Himalayas and stayed there for four years to study further, under the direct guidance of the Paramaguru.	2605 to 2609	497 to 493

	Kali	B.C.
By the order of his Paramaguru, Sankara wrote a Bhāshya on Gaudāpada Karīkās and sixteen Bhāshyās on Prastāna traya etc., in this span of four years.	,,	,,
Initiation of Vishnu Sarma into sanyasa by Sankara. He was his co-student at Kalati and followed him in all his activities. His *turiya-asrama* name is '*Chitsukhacharya*' (He was the author of 'Brihat Sankara Vijaya' the first biography of Sankara, now irretrievably lost.)	,,	,,
Death of Sankara's mother *Aryamba.* (cyclic year '*Plavanga*')	2608	492
Niryâna of Govinda Bhagavatpadā, the Guru of Sankara (Kartika Pūrnima, cyclic year '*Plavanga.*')	2608	492
Initiation of 'Sanandana' into Sanyasa order. His Sanyasa name is *Padma pādācharya.*	2608	492
Sankara's visit to Prayaga to propagate the Advaita Philosophy (Magha, Bahula Amavasya).	2609	493
The Brahmin who was suffering from leprosy and cured by Sankara at Prayāga was his third disciple. His name is *Udanka.*	2609	493

	Kali	B.C.
The fourth disciple, the dumb man was the son of Prabhakarādhavarin, by name Prithvidhara. His sanyasa name given by Sankara is '*Hastāmalāka-charya.*	9209	492
Prabhakarādhavarin, father of Prithvidhara also took the order of sanyasa.	,,	,,
Sankara in his 16th year met Kumarila Bhatta for the first and the last time in Ruddhapura near Prayaga, in the act of self-immolation. Kumarila Bhatta is older than Sankara by 48 years. (cyclic year '*Kīlaka*')	,,	,,
The Great Pandit Mandana Misra was an independent Brahim chief. He was a Kanojiya Gauda Brahmin. He was the disciple of Kumarila Bhatta and a staunch adherent of Karmakanda of the Vêdas. After a great discussion, Mandana Misra became the disciple of Sri Sankara. Leaving his *Grihasta Asrama* he became a Sanyasin. His sanyasa name is '*Surēsvarāchāry*' (cyclic year *Sādhārana*).	2611	491
Sri Sankāra founded the 'Dvârakâ Math.' (Māgha Sukhla Saptami of the cyclic year *Sādhārana* with '*Hastāmalaka*' as its 1st Adhipati or Head.	2611	491

	Kali	B.C.
Sankara visited Nēpāl and refuted the Buddhists. (vide the Indian Antiquary Vol. XIII. P. 417 ff).	2614 to 2615	488 to 487
Founded 'Jyotir Math' (Joshi Mutt) in the Himalayas; (Pushya Suddha Pūrnima, of the cyclic year *Rākshasa*) with *Totakāchāryā* as its 1st Adhipati or Head.	2616	486
Sankara founded the 'Govardhana Matha' of Puri (Jagannath), (Vaiśākha Sukla Dasami, of the cyclic year '*Nala*') with *Padmapādāchārya* as its 1st Adhipati or Head.	2617	484
The Sāradā Pitha at 'Sringeri' was founded in Pushya Pūrinma of the year '*Pingala*' with *Sureswarāchārya* as its first Pithâdhipati.	2618	484
The Kamakoti pîtha at 'Kanchi' was founded in Vaisakha Pūrnima of the year '*Siddharthin*' with Adi Sankara himself as its first Acharya.	2620	482
Brahmibhava of Sri Sankara in his 32nd year at Kanchi, on Vaisâkha Sukla Ekâdasi. (cyclic year '*Raktākshi*').	2625	476

APPENDIX II

श्री काञ्ची शारदामठ

जगद्गुरुपरम्परास्तोत्रः

ॐ नारायणं पद्मभुवं वसिष्ठं शक्तिं च तत्पुत्र पराशरं च
व्यासं शुकं गौडपादं महान्तं गोविन्दयोगीन्द्रमथास्य शिष्यम् ॥

श्री शङ्कराचार्यमथास्य पद्मपादश्च हस्तामलकश्च शिष्यम् ।
तन्त्रोटकं वार्तिककारमन्यानस्मद्गुरून् सन्ततमानतोऽस्मि ॥

नमो ब्रह्मादिभ्यो ब्रह्मविद्यासंप्रदाय कर्तृभ्यो
वंशऋषिभ्यो नमो महद्भयो गुरुभ्यः ।

ॐ सर्वोपप्लवरहितः प्रज्ञानघनः प्रत्यगर्थो ब्रह्मैवाहमस्मि ।
सदाशिवसमारम्भां शङ्कराचार्यमध्यमाम् ।
अस्मदाचार्यपर्यन्तां वन्दे गुरुपरंपराम् ॥ १ ॥

ॐ सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्राय सदात्माद्वैतवेदिने ।
श्रीमते शङ्करार्याय वेदान्तगुरवे नमः ॥ २ ॥

अविप्लुत ब्रह्मचर्यात् अन्वितेन्द्रसरस्वतीन् ।
आत्तमिथ्यावारपथानद्वैताचार्यसङ्कथान् ॥ ३ ॥

आसेतुहिमवच्छैलं सदाचारप्रवर्तकान् ।
जगद्गुरूंस्तुमः काञ्चीशारदमठसंश्रयान् ॥ ४॥

पवित्रितेतराद्वैतमठपीठीशिरोभुवे ।
श्रीकाञ्चीशारदापीठगुरवे भवभीरवे ॥ ५ ॥

वार्तिकादिब्रह्मविद्याकर्त्रे ब्रह्मावतारिणे ।
सुरेश्वराचार्यनाम्ने योगीन्द्राय नमोनमः ॥ ६ ॥

अपोऽश्नन्नेवं जैनान्यः आप्राग्ज्योतिषमाच्छिनत् ।
शिशुमाचार्यवाग्वेणीरयरोधिमहोपलम् ॥ ७ ॥

संक्षेपशारीरकमुखप्रबन्ध विवृताद्वयम् ।
ब्रह्मस्वरूपार्य भाष्य शान्त्याचार्यकपण्डितम् ॥ ८ ॥

सर्वचन्द्रनाम्ना च सर्वतोभुर्वि विश्रुतम् ।
सर्वज्ञसद्गुरुं वन्दे सर्वज्ञमिव भूगतम् ॥ ९ ॥

मेधाविनं सत्यबोधं व्याधूतविमतोच्चयम् ।
प्राच्यभाष्यत्रयव्याख्याप्रवीणं प्रभुमाश्रये ॥ १० ॥

ज्ञानानन्दमुनीन्द्रार्यं ज्ञानोत्तमवराभिधम् ।
चन्द्रचूडपदासक्तं चन्द्रिकाकृतमाश्रये ॥ १ ॥

शुद्धानन्दमुनीन्द्राणां विद्धार्हतमतत्विषाम् ।
आनन्दज्ञानसेव्यानां आलम्बे चरणाम्बुजम् ॥ १२ ॥

सर्वशाङ्करभाष्यौघ भाष्यकर्तारमद्वयम् ।
सर्ववार्तिककृद्वृत्तिकृतं श्रीशैलगं भजे ॥ १३ ॥

कैवल्यानन्दयोगीन्द्रान् केवलं राजयोगिनः ।
कैवल्यमात्रनिरतान् कलयेम जगद्गुरून् ॥ १४ ॥

श्रीकृपाशङ्करार्याणां मर्यादातीततेजसाम् ।
षण्मताचार्यकजुषां अङ्घ्रिद्वन्द्वमहंश्रये ॥ १५ ॥

महिष्ठाय नमस्तस्मै महादेवाय योगिने ।
सुरेश्वरापारख्याय गुरवे दोषभीरवे ॥ १६ ॥

स्तुमस्सदाशिवानन्द चिद्घनेन्द्रसरस्वतीन् ।
कामाक्षीचन्द्रमौल्यर्चाकलनैकलसन्मतीन् ॥ १७ ॥

सार्वभौमाभिधमहाव्रतचर्यापरायणाम् ।
वन्दे जगद्गुरुं श्चन्द्रशेखरेन्द्रसरस्वतीन् ॥ १८ ॥

समा द्वात्रिंशदत्युग्रकाष्ठमौनसमाश्रयान् ।
जितमृत्यून् महालिङ्गभूतान् सच्चिद्घनान्नुमः ॥ १९ ॥

महाभैरवदुस्तन्त्रदुर्दान्तध्वान्तभास्करान् ।
विद्याघनान्नमस्यामि सर्वविद्या विचक्षणान् ॥ २० ॥

आचार्यपदपाथोजपरिचर्यापरायणम् ।
गङ्गाधरं नमस्यामस्सदा गङ्गाधरार्चकम ॥ २१ ॥

जगज्जयिसुसौराष्ट्र जरदष्ठि मदापहान् ।
शकसिल्हकदर्पघ्नानीडीमहि महायतीन् ॥ २२ ॥

चतुस्समुद्रीक्रोडस्थवर्णाश्रमविचारकान् ।
श्रितविप्रव्रजस्कन्ध सुवर्णान्दोलिकाचरान् ॥ २३ ॥

प्रत्यहं ब्रह्मसाहस्रसन्तर्पणधृतव्रतान् ।
सदाशिवसमाह्वानान् स्मरामस्सद्गुरून् सदा ॥ २४ ॥

मायालोकायतीभूतब्रह्मस्पतिमदापहान् ।
वन्दे सुरेन्द्रवन्द्यांघ्रीन् श्रीसुरेन्द्रसरस्वतीन् ॥ २५ ॥

श्रीविद्याकरुणालब्धब्रह्मविद्याहृतामयान् ।
वन्दे वशंवदप्राणान् मुनीन् विद्याघनान्मुहुः ॥ २६ ॥

विद्याघनकृपालब्ध सर्ववेदान्तविस्तरम् ।
कौतस्कुतोत्पातकेतुं निश्शङ्कं नौमि शंकरम् ॥ २७ ॥

चन्द्रचूडपदध्यानप्राप्तानन्दमहोदधीन् ।
यतीन्द्रां श्चन्द्रचूडेन्द्रान् स्मरामि मनसा सदा ॥ २८ ॥

नमामि परिपूर्ण श्रीबोधान् प्रावाभिलापकान् ।
यदीक्षणात् पलायन्त प्राणिनामामयाधयः ॥ २९ ॥

सच्चित्सुखान् प्रपद्येऽहं सुखमाप्तगुहास्थितीन् ।
चित्सुखाचार्यमीडेऽहं सत्सुखं कोङ्कणाश्रयम् ॥ ३० ॥

भजे श्रीसच्चिदानन्दघनेन्द्रान् रससाधनात् ।
लिङ्गात्मना परिणतान् प्रभासे योगसंश्रिते ॥ ३१ ॥

भगवत्पादपादाब्जासक्ति निर्णिक्तमानसान् ।
प्रज्ञाघनं चिद्विलासं महादेवञ्च मैथिलम् ॥ ३२ ॥

पूर्णबोधश्च बोधश्च भक्तियोगप्रवर्तकम् ।
ब्रह्मानन्दघनेन्द्रश्च नमामि नियतात्मना ॥ ३३ ॥

चिदानन्दघनेन्द्राणां लंबिकायोगसेविनाम् ।
जीर्णपर्णाशिनां पादौ प्रपद्ये मनसा सदा ॥ ३४ ॥

सच्चिदानन्दनामानं शिवार्चनपरायणम् ।
भाषापञ्चदशीप्राज्ञं भावयामि सदा मुदा ॥ ३५ ॥

भूप्रदक्षिणकर्मैकसक्तं श्रीचन्द्रशेखरम् ।
त्रातदावाग्निसन्दग्धकिशोरकमुपास्महे ॥ ३६ ॥

चित्सुखेन्द्रं सुखेनैव क्रान्तसह्यगुहागृहम् ।
कामरूपचरं नानारूपवन्तमुपास्महे ॥ ३७ ॥

निर्दोषसंयमधरान् चित्सुखानन्दतापसान् ।
विद्याघनेन्द्रान् श्रीविद्यावशीकृतजनान् स्तुमः ॥ ३८ ॥

शङ्करेन्द्रयतीन्द्राणां पादुके ब्रह्मसंभृते ।
नमामि शिरसा याभ्यां त्रीन्लोकान् व्यचरन् मुनिः ॥ ३९ ॥

सच्चिद्विलासयोगीन्द्रं महादेवेन्द्रमुज्ज्वलम् ।
गङ्गाधरेन्द्रमप्येतान् नौमि वादिशिरोमणीन् ॥ ४० ॥

ब्रह्मानन्दघनेन्द्राख्यांस्तथानन्दघनानपि ।
पूर्णबोधमहर्षींश्च ब्रह्मनिष्ठानुपास्महे ॥ ४१ ॥

वृत्त्यजगर्या श्रीशैलगुहागृहकृतस्थितीन् ।
श्रीमत्परमशिवाख्यान् सर्वातीतान् श्रये हृदा ॥ ४२ ॥

अन्योन्यसदृशान्योन्यौ बोधश्रीचन्द्रशेखरौ ।
प्रणवोपासनासक्तमानसौ मनसा श्रये ॥ ४३ ॥

मुक्तिलिङ्गार्चनानन्दविस्मृताशेषवृत्तये ।
चिदम्बररहस्यान्तर्लीनदेहाय योगिने ॥ ४४ ॥

अद्वैतानन्दसाम्राज्यविद्रुताशेषपाप्मने ।
अद्वैतानन्दबोधाय नमो ब्रह्म समीयुषे ॥ ४५ ॥

श्रये महादेवचन्द्रशेखरेन्द्रमहामुनि ।
महाव्रतसमारब्धकोटिहोमान्तगामिनौ ॥ ४६ ॥

विद्यातीर्थसमाह्वानान् श्रीविद्यानाथयोगिनः ।
विद्यया शङ्करप्रख्यान् विद्यारण्यगुरून् भजे ॥ ४७ ॥

सच्चिद्घनेन्द्रानद्वैतब्रह्मानन्दमुनीनपि ।
सान्द्रानन्दयतीन्द्रांश्च तथाप्यद्वैतशेवधीन् ॥ ४८ ॥

महादेवशिवाद्वैतसुखानन्दयतीश्वरौ ।
मनसा भावये नित्यं महासंयमधारिणौ ॥ ४९ ॥

वीक्षणात्सर्वभूतानाम् विषव्याधिनिबर्हणम् ।
शिवयोगीश्वरं साक्षात् चिन्तयामि सदा मुदा ॥ ५० ॥

प्रत्यग्ज्योतिःप्रकाशेन्द्रान् प्रत्यग्ज्योतिरुपासिनः ।
न्यक्कृताशेषदुस्तर्ककार्कश्यान् सततं स्तुमः ॥ ५१ ॥

शङ्करानन्दयोगीन्द्रपदपङ्कजगोयुगम् ।
बुक्कभूपशिरोरत्नं स्मरामि सततं हृदा ॥ ५२ ॥

श्रीपूर्णानन्दमौनीन्द्रं नेपालनृपदेशिकम् ।
अव्याहतस्वसञ्चारं संश्रयामि जगद्गुरुम् ॥ ५३ ॥

महादेवश्च तच्छिष्यश्चन्द्रशेखरयोग्यपि ।
स्तां मे हृदि सदा धीरावद्वैतमतदेशिकौ ॥ ५४ ॥

सदाशिवश्रीब्रह्मेन्द्रधृतस्वपदपादुकान् ।
धीरान् परशिवेन्द्रार्यान् ध्यायामि सततं हृदि ॥ ५५ ॥

आत्मबोधयतीन्द्राणां आशीताचलचारिणाम् ।
अन्य श्रीशङ्कराचार्यधीकृतामंघ्रिमाश्रये ॥ ५६ ॥

प्रवीर सेतुभूपाल सेवितांघ्रिसरोरुहान् ।
योगीन्द्रशङ्करेन्द्रार्यापरपर्यायभागिनः ॥ ५७ ॥

भगवन्नामसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मीसर्वस्वविग्रहान् ।
श्रीमद्बोधेन्द्रयोगीन्द्र देशिकेन्द्रानुपास्महे ॥ ५८ ॥

अद्वैतात्मप्रकाशाय सर्वशास्त्रार्थवादिने ।
विधूतसर्वखेदाय नमो विश्वातिशायिने ॥ ५९ ॥

आसप्तमाज्जीर्णपर्णजलवातारुणांशुभिः ।
कृतस्वप्राणयात्राय महादेवाय सन्नतिः ॥ ६० ॥

चोलकेरलचेरौड्रपाण्ड्य कर्णाटक कोङ्कणान् ।
महाराष्ट्रान्ध्रसौराष्ट्रमगधादींश्च भूभुजः ॥ ६१ ॥

शिष्यान् आसेतुशीताद्रि शासते पुण्यकर्मणो ।
श्रीचन्द्रशेखरेन्द्राय जगतो गुरवे नमः ॥ ६२ ॥

निष्पापवृत्तये नित्यनिर्धूतभवकल्मषये ।
महादेवाय सततं नमोऽस्तु नतरक्षिणे ॥ ६३ ॥

श्रीविद्योपासनादार्ढ्यवशीकृत चराचरान् ।
श्रीचन्द्रशेखरेन्द्रार्यान् शङ्करप्रतिमान्नुमः ॥ ६४ ॥

श्रीकाञ्चीशारदापीठसंस्थितानामिमां क्रमात् ।
स्तुतिं जगद्गुरूणां यः पठेत् स सुखभाक् भवेत् ॥ ६५ ॥

इति श्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यवर्य श्रीमच्छङ्करभगवत्पाद
श्रीमज्जगद्गुरु श्रीकामकोटिपीठाधिपश्रीसुदर्शनेन्द्रा-
परपर्याय श्रीमहादेवेन्द्रसरस्वतीकृतौ श्रीकाञ्ची
शारदामठ जगद्गुरुपरम्परास्तोत्रं संपूर्णम् ॥





HIS HOLINESS JAGATGURU SRI SANKARACHARYA
OF SRI KANCHI KAMAKOTI PEETHA

APPENDIX III

Successors of Sankaracharya

in the Kamakoti Pitha at Kanchi

AND

in the Sarada Pitha at Sringeri

with a critical review of all
the available authorities.

List of Sri Sankaracharyas who adorned the **Kamakoti Pitha** established by **Adi Sankara** at **Kanchi** and subsequently removed to **Kumbhakonam**

No.	Name of the Acharyas	Date of their Abhisheka	Date of their Brahmi-bhava	Total period of their Regime
1.	Sankara Bhagavatpada or Sankara I (Born at Kalati of Aryamba and Sivaguru in 509 B.C.)	480 B.C.	477 B.C.	3 years
2.	Sureswara I (as Regent)	477 ,,	407 ,,	70 ,,
3.	Sarvajna Muni or Sankara II	407 ,,	365 ,,	42 ,,
4.	Satyabodha	365 ,,	329 ,,	36 ,,
5.	Jnananandana or Jnanottama	329 ,,	266 ,,	63 ,,
6.	Suddhananda	266 ,,	185 ,,	81 ,,
7.	Anandajnana or Anandagiri	185 ,,	116 ,,	69 ,,
8.	Kaivalyananda or Sachchidananda	116 ,,	33 ,,	83 ,,
9.	Kripa-Sankara or Sankara III	33 ,,	8 A.D.	41 ,,

10.	Sureswara II	8 A.D.	65 A.D.	57 years
11.	Chidghanendra	65 ,,	110 ,,	45 ,,
12.	Chandrasekhara	110 ,,	173 ,,	63 ,,
13.	Sachchidghanendra	173 ,,	242 ,,	69 ,,
14.	Vidyaghanendra	242 ,,	316 ,,	74 ,,
15.	Gangadhara Gishpati	316 ,,	328 ,,	12 ,,
16.	Ujjvala Sankara or Sankara IV	328 ,,	366 ,,	38 ,,
17.	Gauda Sadasivendra	366 ,,	374 ,,	8 ,,
18.	Surendra Yogi	374 ,,	384 ,,	10 ,,
19.	Abhinava Vidyaghanendra	384 ,,	397 ,,	13 ,,
20.	Muka Sankara or Sankara V	397 ,,	436 ,,	39 ,,
21.	Chandrachudendra	436 ,,	446 ,,	10 ,,
22.	Paripurna-bodhendra	446 ,,	480 ,,	34 ,,
23.	Sachchitsukhendra	480 ,,	511 ,,	31 ,,
24.	Chitsukhendra	511 ,,	526 ,,	15 ,,
25.	Sachchidanandaghanendra	526 ,,	563 ,,	16 ,,
26.	Chid-vilasendra	563 ,,	576 ,,	13 ,,
27.	Mahadevendra Saraswati	576 ,,	600 ,,	24 ,,
28.	Purnabodhendra Saraswati	600 ,,	617 ,,	17 ,,
29.	Bodhendra Saraswati	617 ,,	654 ,,	37 ,,
30.	Brahmananda-ghanendra	654 ,,	667 ,,	13 ,,
	Chidananda-ghanendra	667 ,,	671 ,,	4 ,,

No.	Name of the Acharyas	Date of their Abhisheka	Date of their Brahmi-bhava	Total period of their Regime
32.	Sachchidananda-ghanendra	671 A.D.	691 A.D.	20 years
33.	Chandrasekharendra	691 ,,	709 ,,	18 ,,
34.	Chit-sukhendra	709 ,,	736 ,,	27 ,,
35.	Chitsukhanandendra	736 ,,	757 ,,	21 ,,
36.	Vidya-Ghana-Muni	757 ,,	801 ,,	44 ,,
37.	Abhinava Sankara or Sankara VI (Born at Chidambaram on 788 A.D.)	801 ,,	839 ,,	38 ,,
38.	Sachchidvilasa	839 ,,	872 ,,	33 ,,
39.	Mahadevendra	872 ,,	914 ,,	42 ,,
40.	Gangadharendra	914 ,,	949 ,,	35 ,,
41.	Brahmananda-ghanendra	949 ,,	977 ,,	28 ,,
42.	Ananda-ghana	977 ,,	1013 ,,	36 ,,
43.	Purna-bodhendra	1013 ,,	1039 ,,	26 ,,
44.	Paramasiva	1039 ,,	1060 ,,	21 ,,
45.	Bodhendra	1060 ,,	1097 ,,	37 ,,
46.	Chandrachuda	1097 ,,	1165 ,,	68 ,,
47.	Advaitananda-bodhendra	1165 ,,	1199 ,,	34 ,,

48.	Mahadevendra	1199 A.D.	1246 A.D.	47 years
49.	Chandrasekharendra	1246 ,,	1296 ,,	50 ,,
50.	Vidyatirtha or Sankara VII	1296 ,,	1384 ,,	88 ,,
51.	Sankarananda or Sankara VIII	1384 ,,	1416 ,,	32 ,,
52.	Purnananda-Sadasivendra	1416 ,,	1497 ,,	81 ,,
53.	Mahadevandra	1497 ,,	1506 ,,	9 ,,
54.	Chandrachudendra	1506 ,,	1512 ,,	6 ,,
55.	Sadasivendra	1512 ,,	1538 ,,	26 ,,
56.	Paramasivendrarya	1538 ,,	1585 ,,	47 ,,
57.	Sadasiva Brahmendra	1585 ,,	1637 ,,	52 ,,
58.	Bodhendra Yogindra	1637 ,,	1691 ,,	54 ,,
59.	Atmaprakasendra	1691 ,,	1703 ,,	12 ,,
60.	Mahadevendra Saraswati	1703 ,,	1746 ,,	43 ,,
61.	Atmabodhendra Saraswati	1746 ,,	1772 ,,	26 ,,
62.	Mahadevendra Saraswati	1772 ,,	1813 ,,	41 ,,
63.	Chandrasekharendra Saraswati	1813 ,,	1850 ,,	37 ,,
64.	Mahadevandra Saraswati	1850 ,,	1890 ,,	40 ,,
65.	Chandrasekharendra Saraswati	1890 ,,	1907 ,,	17 ,,
66.	Mahadevendra Saraswati	1907 Feb. 6	1907 Feb. 12	6 days
67.	Chandrasekharendra Saraswati (the present Illustrious Acharya)	1907 ,,	—	—

N.B. There have been many Sankaracharyas all over the Advaitic Mathas in India, and many of them have been famous writers of works on the Advaita Philosophy and Religion. Of these Advaitic Mathas, five have been established by Adi Sankara or Sankara Bhagavatpada himself, the Founder of the Advaita Philosophy and author of the Advaita Bhashyas on the Prasthanatraya: and they are (1) the Sarada Pitha at Dwaraka established on Magha Sukla Saptami of the year Sadharana in the 2611 of the Kaliyuga, corresponding to the year 2649 of the Yudhisthirasaka (490 B.C.) with Sri Brahma Svarupacharya (Visvarupa), the brother of the famous Sureswaracharya (Mandanamisra) as its first Acharya; (2) the Jyotir Matha at Badarikasrama established on Pausha Sukla Purnima of the year Rakshasa in the year 2616 k. y. corresponding to 2654 y. s. (485 B.C.), with Totakacharya (Anandagiri) as its first Acharya; (3) the Govardhana Matha of Jagannatha, established on Vaisakha Sukla Dasami of the year Nala in 2617 k. y. corresponding to 2655 y. s. (484 B.C.) with Padmapadacharya (Sanandana) as its first Acharya; (4) the Sarada Pitha at Sringeri, established on Pausha Sukla Purnima of the year Pingala in 2618. k.y. corresponding to 2656 y.s. (483 B.C.) with Hastamalakacharya (Prithvidhara) as its first Acharya, and (5) the Kamakoti Pitha at Kanchi established on Vaisakha Sukla Purnima of the year Siddharti in 2620 k.y. corresponding to 2658 y.s. (481 B.C.) with Sri Sankara Bhagavatpada himself as its first Acharya.

In the Kamakoti Pitha alone, one of these five mathas established by Adi Sankara and originally located at Kanchi (Conjeevaram) but subsequently removed to

Kumbhakonam, * during the latter part of the 18th Century, there have been up to this time 67 Acharyas, † who all bore the title of Sri Sankaracharya, and among whom there have been no less than 8 Acharyas who also actually bore the name of Sankara. Of these latter again, the 38th (or 37th) Acharya, Abhinava Sankara or Sankara VI who was born to Visvajit, Somayaji 2½ years after his death in the womb of his widow Visishta at Chidambaram (as Gajagarbha) in the year 3889 of the Kaliyuga, corresponding to 787-788 A.D. and who finally disappeared near the Dattatreya Guha on the Himalayas in his 52nd year, and who was in addition considered like Adi Sankara, an incarnation of Siva—possessed a genius and personality in no way inferior to those of his illustrious predecessor, so much so that he has been by later writers, both his admirers and adversaries identified with the First Sankaracharya who was born to Aryamba and Sivaguru at Kalati (Kerala) in 509 B.C. and who finally attained his wonderful Brahmibhava at Kanchi in 477 B.C. (Vide for further particulars my 'Age of Sankara'.)

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* In the early days of the East India Company and the unsettled times of the Moguls and the Mahrattas, the Kamakoti Pitham was shifted to Kumbhakonam from Kanchi (Ed.)

† If Sureswara is not included the number of Acharyas will be 66 (Ed.)

List of **Sri Sankaracharyas** who adorned the **Sarada Pitha** established by **Adi Sankara** at **Sringagiri** (Sringeri)

No.	Name of the Acharyas	Date of their Abhisheka	Date of their Brahmibhava	Total period of their Regime
1.	Sankara Bhagavatpada	18 B.C.	12 B.C.	6 years
2.	Suresvaracharya (?)	12 ,,	773 A D.	785 ,,
3.	Nityabodhaghana	773 A.D.	848 ,,	75 ,,
4.	Jnanaghana	848 ,,	910 ,,	62 ,,
5.	Jnanottama Sivacharya	910 ,,	953 ,,	43 ,,
6.	Jnanagiri	953 ,,	1038 ,,	85 ,,
7.	Simhagiri	1038 ,,	1098 ,,	60 ,,
8.	Isvara Tirtha	1098 ,,	1146 ,,	48 ,,
9.	Narasimha Tirtha	1146 ,,	1228 ,,	82 ,,
10.	Vidya Tirtha (Vidya Sankara)	1228 ,,	1333 ,,	105 ,,
11.	Bharatikrishna Tirtha	1333 ,,	1380 ,,	47 ,,
12.	Vidayaranya	1380 ,,	1386 ,,	6 ,,
13.	Chandrasekhara Bharati I	1386 ,,	1389 ,,	3 ,,
14.	Narasimha Bharati I	1389 ,,	1408 ,,	19 ,,

15.	Pursuhottama Bharati I	1408 ,,	1-43 ,,	40 ,,
16.	Sankarananda (?)	1418 ,,	1454 ,,	6 ,,
17.	Chandrasekhara Bharati II	1454 ,,	1464 ,,	10 ,,
18.	Narasimha Bharati II	1464 ,,	1479 ,,	15 ,,
19.	Purushottama Bharati II	1479 ,,	1517 ,,	38 ,,
20.	Ramachandra Bharati	1517 ,,	1560 ,,	43 ,,
21.	Narasimha Bharati III	1560 ,,	1573 ,,	13 ,,
22.	Narasimha Bharati IV	1573 ,,	1576 ,,	3 ,,
23.	Narasimha Bharati V	1576 ,,	1599 ,,	23 ,,
24.	Narasimha Bharati VI (?)	1599 ,,	1622 ,,	23 ,,
25.	Sachchidananda Bharati I	1622 ,,	1663 ,,	41 ,,
26.	Narasimha Bharati VII	1663 ,,	1705 ,,	42 ,,
27.	Sachchidananda Bharati II	1705 ,,	1741 ,,	36 ,,
28.	Abhinava Sachchidananda Bharati I	1741 ,,	1767 ,,	26 ,,
29.	Abhinava Narasimha Bharati	1767 ,,	1770 ,,	3 ,,
30.	Sachchidananda Bharati II	1770 ,,	1814 ,,	44 ,,
31.	Abhinava Sachchidananda Bharati II	1814 ,,	1817 ,,	3 ,,
32.	Narasimha Bharati VIII	1817 ,,	1878 ,,	61 ,,
33.	Sachchidananda Sivabhinava Nrisimha Bharati	1878 ,,	1912 ,,	34 ,,
34.	Chandrasekhara Bharati III	1912 ,,	—	—

The above list has been prepared from the table showing the list of Acharyas of the Sringeri Mutt under the heading of Sri Sringeri Jagadguru Parampara (ஸ்ரீ சிருங் கேரி ஜகத்குரு பரம்பரை) published in Tamil under the orders of His Holiness Sri Jagadguru Narasimha Bharati VIII, immediately after his Brahmibhava in 1879, as an appendix to the Tamil translation of Madhaviya Sankara Vijayam compiled under the supervision of Bangalore Siddhanti Sri Subrahmanya Sastriar and printed at the Memorial Press, No. 39, Thambu Chetty Street, Madras: no doubt, the above list tallies with the records preserved in the Sringeri Mutt, the Guruparampara Stotras and the Amnâya stotras of the Sringeri Mutt published in Telugu character by Vavilla Ramaswamy Sastri in 1885 and the Guruparampara Stotras etc. published in Devanagari character under the orders of His Holiness Sri Jagadguru Sachchidananda Sivabhinava Narasimha Bharati Swamigal, the late Sri Sankaracharya of the Sringeri Mutt recently by Sri Vani Vilasa Press at Srirangam. But it must be pointed out that there is some discrepancy between these two accounts and that given by His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Udayar, the grand-father of His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Udayar Bahadur G. C. S. I. the present Maharajah of Mysore, in his Sringeri Mutt Guruparampara and in his Ashtottarasatanamastotra on the late Sri Narasimha Bharati Swamigal of Sringeri Mutt, composed on Wednesday Sravana Sukla Pratipada of Ananda, in the year 1776 of Salivahana Saka, corresponding to 26th July 1854. In the list so given by His Highness, only 30 Acharyas are enumerated from Adi Sankaracharya to Sri Narasimha Bharati Swamigal, the Paramaguru of the present Acharya of the Sringeri Mutt. But Sankarananda and Narasimha Bharathi VI-the 16th and the 24th Acharyas in the above list are altogether

omitted; so that the present Acharya His Holiness Sri Jagadguru Chandrasekhara Bharati Swamigal III will only be the 32nd Acharya according to the venerable Sri Krishnaraja Udayar, the author of the two stotras.*

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*These stotras are still in manuscripts and are preserved in the Mysore Palace Library and other places along with the other works of His Highness, which form as it were an encyclopaedia of all the Sacred and Religious Literatures in India. I am in possession of an excellent though very old, list of all the works of His Highness written in a neat hand in the Canarese character including these two stotras, and a mere perusal of these with the subsequent Guruparamparas, and Ashtottara Satanamastotras relating to the Acharyas of the Sringeri Mutt published later on in Telugu and Nagari characters will clearly show that the later publications are all copies of these two original stotras, only with certain important changes and omissions to suit the exigencies of the time and the purposes of the mutt. I give below the commencement and conclusion of these two stotras and they may be compared with the corresponding stotras already published in Telugu by V. Ramaswami Sastri without mentioning the name of the author. The Sringeri Matha Guruparampara according to His Highness Sri Krishna Rajendra of Mysore runs as follows:—

श्रीरस्तु ।

"महादेवो महाविष्णु स्तृतीयश्तुराननः ।
वासिष्ठः शक्तियोगीन्द्रः पराशरमहामुनिः ॥ १ ॥

व्यासः शुको गौडपादो गोविन्दभगवान् मुनिः ।
गुरुः श्रीशङ्कराचार्यः षण्मतस्थापन प्रभुः ॥ २ ॥

[1] पृथ्वीधराचार्ययोगी नित्यबोधघनाभिध: ।
ततो ज्ञानधनाचार्यो ज्ञानोत्तममहामुनि: ।। ३ ।।

... .

श्रीशृङ्गेरीपुराधीश: श्रीविद्यामन्त्र बोधक: ।
श्रीमदाचार्यसदृश श्रीनृसिंहयतीश्वर: ।। १२ ।।

भारतीनामविख्यात स्तप: शीलो जगद्गुरु: ।
[2] राजाधिराज सम्पूज्यो जगत्ख्यातो विराजते ।। १३ ।।

श्रीचामुण्डाकृपापूर्ण श्रीकृष्णेन्द्रेण कीर्तिता ।
जीयात् सदा श्रीशृङ्गेरीजगद्गुरुपरम्परा ।। १४ ।।

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(1) In some manuscripts this line is changed as follows :
विश्वरूपाचार्ययोगी नित्यबोधघनाभिध: ।"

But in the Telugu printed publication, this line runs as follows :

"सुरेश्वराचार्ययोगी नित्यबोधघनाभिध: ।"

(2) In the Telugu edition, the last three lines are mutilated as follows to suit the exigencies of the time.

"राजाधिराजसम्पूज्यो जगत्ख्यातो व्यराजत ।। २३ ।।"
तच्छिष्य: सच्चिदानन्दशिवाभिनवपूर्वक: ।
नृसिंहभारतीस्वामी जयत्यद्य जगद्गुरु: ।। २४ ।।

Excepting these few variations there is absolutely no other difference between this and the Telugu edition of the Jagadguru-Parampara Stuti.

His Highness's Ashtottara Satanamavali on Nrisimha Bharati Swamigal of Sringeri Mutt runs as follows :—

श्रीमच्चामुण्डिकाम्बा पदकमललसद्भृङ्गनैजान्तरङ्ग
श्रीमान् कर्णाटदेश प्रथितवर महीशूर सिंहासनेश: ।

श्रीशृङ्गेरी नृसिंहाभिधभुवनगुरोः पूजनासक्तचित्तो
नाम्ना मष्ठोत्तराढ्यं शतमिति तनुते कृष्णराजेन्द्रचन्द्रः ।। १ ।।

श्रीशृङ्गेरी पुराधीशः शारदापीठपूजकः ।
तुङ्गभद्रातीरवासी तुङ्गकल्याणवैभवः ।। २ ।।

लोक पूज्य श्रीनृसिंहभारत्याख्य यतीश्वरः ।
इदं पवित्रं पापघ्नं पठतां शृण्वतां सदा ।। ३७ ।।

विद्यासम्पत्समृद्ध्यादि सर्वाभीष्टफलप्रदम् ।
शृङ्गेरीश श्रीनृसिंहभारत्याख्य जगद्गुरोः ।। ३८ ।।

पादाब्ज दर्शनोद्भूतप्रतिभोन्मेषशालिना ।
तत्पूजासक्तचित्तेन लोकानन्दविधायिना ।। ३९ ।।

राजेन्द्रवंशसद्रत्नचामराज तनूभुवा ।
केपनञ्जाम्बिकागर्भसुधाम्बुधि सुधांशुना ।। ४० ।।

श्रीमता कृष्णराजेन्द्रसार्वभौमेन धीमता ।
चक्रवर्ति (६)हरि (७)द्वीप (७)रत्नगर्भा (१) मिते शुभे।।४१।।

शालिवाहन शकाब्देषु प्राप्तेचाऽऽनन्दवत्सरे ।
नभः शुक्लप्रतिपदि द्विजराजज वासरे ।। ४२ ।।

भक्त्या विरचितं चैत न्नाम्ना मष्ठोत्तरं शतम् ।
समस्त श्रेयसां प्राप्त्यै जीया दाचन्द्रभास्करम् ।। ४३ ।।

श्रीशृङ्गेरी यतीन्द्रस्य नाम्ना मष्टोत्तरं शतम् ।
त्रिसन्ध्यं यः पठेद्भक्त्या सर्वाभीष्टमवाप्नुयात् ।। ४४ ।।

श्रीशृङ्गेरी नृसिंहभारतीस्वामिनां अष्टोत्तरशतनामस्तोत्रं
सम्पूर्णम् ।।

This is only a slight discrepancy, and we can conveniently pass it over, and assume this list given above as practically correct with regard to the number of the Acharyas that adorned the Sarada Pitha at Sringeri; but we cannot so lightly pass over another discrepancy that we find in these stotras with regard to the immediate successor of Sankaracharya in this mutt. We find in His Highness's Guruparampara, only the name of Prithividharacharya as the immediate successor of Adi Sankara in the Sringeri Mutt; no doubt I am aware of that in some of the later manuscripts the name of Visvarupacharya is introduced in place of Prithividharacharya; but none of these manuscripts mention the name of Sureswaracharya, as given in the above list and in the Guruparampara-stotra recently published in Telugu.

The name of Sureswara is clearly an innovation brought about by the advocates of the Sringeri Mutt after 1856. Up to that period everyone believed that Prithividhara or Viswarupa was the immediate successor of Sankara in that mutt. Even in the Guruparampara-stotra recently published in the Devanagari character at Srirangam, the substitution of Sureswaracharya in place of Prithividharacharya or Visvarupacharya is brought about in a clear and strategic manner and whoever might be the author of it, there is not the slightest doubt, that he was conscious that Sankara's immediate successor was, according to all the well-known and authenticated records and traditions not Sureswaracharya, but only Prithividhara or Viswarupa, and the able author by a pun upon the words * विश्व (Viswa) and रूप (Rupa) tries to identify Viswarupa with the author

* Cf. The Guruparampara-stotra 1.2 :—

of the Vedanta-Vartikas, and thereby suggests to us that Viswarupa and Sureswara are one and the same.

Though there can be no doubt that the Sringeri Mutt was one of the first five great mutts formed by Adi Sankara, a perusal of the above list clearly shows that it had been very much neglected until Sri Vidyaranya took charge of the same, from whose time it appears to have been gaining in prestige as one of the mathas established by Sankara Bhagavatpada. Owing to the innate greatness and extraordinary learning of Sri Vidyaranyaswami, who practically reformed the matha in the year 1253 of the Salivahana saka, corresponding to 1331 A.D. while both his Guru and Paramaguru-Vidyatirtha and Bharati Tirtha were alive, and owing no doubt, to the political influence which he exercised as one of the chief ministers under a great and powerful Hindu king, and owing also to the personal magnetism and purity of life of its later Acharyas, the Sringeri Mutt has become at present the foremost and the most important of the mutts established by Sankara in India. We always had the highest admiration and veneration for His Holiness Sri Jagadguru Sachchidanand Sivabhinava Nrisimha Bharati Swami, the 33rd and the late Sankaracharya of the Sringeri Mutt, and though we had only once seen him at the time of the installation of Sankara's idol in the new temple specially built at Kalati, the birth place of Adi Sankara. We had been so much impressed by his undoubtedly great personality, his calmness of mind, his meekness of appearance, his simplicity of dress, his purity of life, his accessibleness to all, his clearness of exposition, his unostentatious behaviour and his extraordinary and varied learning, we feel convinced that the present greatness of the Sringeri Mutt is chiefly due to his magnetic personality.

But our purpose is not to advocate the cause of any of these mutts, but simply to point out what materials they furnish to enable us to determine the age of Sankara. It will be admitted by all that we have in the above list, a regular record of all the Acharyas that occupied the Sarada Pitha at Sringeri, from the time of Vidyaranya, its supposed 12th Acharya, up to the present time: but all accounts and records relating to Vidyaranya's predecessors, including Adi Sankara, whom the mutt now claims as it first Acharya, are purely matters of conjecture and imagination and are not worth the material on which they are written. While all the other mathas established by Sankara, count from him 67 to 142 Acharyas and assume Sankara to have been born on Sunday the 5th day (Panchami) of the bright half (Sukla paksha) of the month Vaisakha (Tamil month Chittirai), in the spring season (Vasanta Ritu), Uttarayana, Nandana samvatsara, of the year 2493 of the Kaliyuga, 2631 of the Yudhisthira Saka, corresponding to 509 B.C. under the constellation of Punarvasu and under the ascending sign of Dhanur lagna, it is extremely strange to find that the Sringeri Mutt should count only 34 Acharyas upto the present day including Adi Sankara himself as its first Acharya, and should have placed Sankara's birth contrary to all the various Sankara Vijayas, Punyaslokamanjaris and other written records and oral traditions—on Sunday, the fifth day of the bright half of the month Vaisakha, Iswara Samvatsara of the year 3058 of the Kaliyuga,—14 of the Vikrama Saka—correspoding to 44 B.C. under the constellation of Ardra.

It appears that rightly or wrongly Vidyaranya or perhaps someone of his successors chose the year 3058 of the Kaliyuga, as the date of Sankara's birth, which had

become fixed in the records of Sringeri Mutt. It must have been long before the controversy between Sringeri Mutt and the Kumbhakonam Mutt (Kanchi matha) had arisen; and when each of the mutts wanted to trace its succession directly from Adi Sankara, and when their respective heads claimed the exclusive privilege of being the Advaita Jagadguru for the whole of India, the authorities of the Sringeri Mutt evidently felt difficulty in showing to the public at large an unbroken line of successors from Adi Sankara. For the only names of persons whom they could remember and count amongst the Acharyas after Sankara and Viswarupa (Prithvidhara or Prithividhava) were limited to eight or nine names before Vidyaranya who assumed the order of Sanyasin on Kartika Suddha Saptami of the year Prajotpatti in 1253 of the Salivahana Saka (about 1331 A.D.); and even those 8 or 9 persons whose names they were able to pick out with great difficulty could not have occupied the Pitha at the Sringeri Mutt for more than 1375 years. To keep up their prestige and to be consistent with what they had already published they could not change this date of Sankara's birth already recorded in the accounts of their mutt. So they were obliged to assign to each of the predecessors of Vidyaranya almost the full period of man's life,* but even then they found that the mutt was lacking history for a period of more than 800 years to reach up to Sankara even according to their assured date of 3058 Kaliyuga. Not being able to account for this long period

* For instance, the records of the Sringeri Mutt show 90, 94, 48, 86, 63, 69, 83, 105 and 52 as the period of *ascetic life* of each of its Acharyas commencing from Nityabodhaghana (its 3rd Acharya) and ending with Bharati

of 800 years and more, they devised a plan and assumed for the first time that Sankara and Sureswara—the two great expounders and advocates of the Advaita school of philosophy—were the first two of their line of Acharyas, and they made up between those two great persons this long period of more than 800 years. But as Sankara as uniformly accepted by all the authorities to have lived on earth only for a short period of 32 years—at the most 36 years—they were obliged to ascribe the remaining 800 years or more correctly 785 years to Sureswara alone. It has been suggested by some modern scholars that the figure 800 might be † a pure clerical mistake for 80, but it is not so because the records of the Sringeri Mutt unmistakably

Krishna Tirtha (its 11th Acharya), whereas they show 21, 21, 42, 26, 15, 16, 45, 52, 16, 13, 23, 23, 41, 42, 36, 26, 4, 43, 3, as the period of *ascetic life* of each of the successors of Vidyaranya commencing from Chandrasekhara Bharati I (its 13th Acharya) and ending with Abhinava Sachchidananda Bharati II (its 31st Acharya).

† The late Pandit N. Bhashyacharya, who seems to think that Sankara could not have established any of the mutts, says with regard to this long period of 800 years assigned to Sureswaracharya ; " This may be a mistake for 80 years and assuming that such was the case, we find that Sri Sankaracharya flourished about the end of seventh century A.C." (vide p. 13 of his 'Age of Sankaracharya ') Mr. C. N. Krishnaswami Iyer referring to the list of Sankara's successors preserved in the Sringer's Mutt, says—" The Sringeri Mutt undoubtedly of the Guru's founding, has a list of his successors ; but unhappily, it is an imperfect list, for, besides other errors, it assigns to Sureswaracharya, the

show the Sureswara was converted into regular Sanyasin of the order of Paramahamsa Parivrajakacharya by Sankara on Chaitra Sukla Purnima of the year Vijaya corresponding to the year 30 of the Vikrama Saka and attained his Brahmibhava or Mukti on Magha Sukla Dwadasi of the year Pramoda (wrongly called Pramadicha) corresponding to the year 695 of the Salivahana saka, which will give him a total period of 803 years from the time of his conversion into sanyasa up to the time of his siddhi. According to all reliable authorities Sureswara was no other than Mandana Misra, the famous disciple of Kumarila Bhatta, and when Sankara met him and converted him into

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immediate successor of the Guru, a period of 700 years or more ! Still as the time of the monk's birth is placed at the close of the 8th Century of the Vikrama Era (whence all these dates) if we make some allowance for somebody's carelessness herein, it is easy perhaps to reconcile small discrepancies and take 788 A.D. as the year of the Guru's birth as Maxmuller does" (vide his 'Life and Time of Sankara' p. 14—15) Apart from the fact that both the scholars agree in thinking with us that the records of Sringeri Mutt are imperfect and incorrect, we are thoroughly unable to follow their arguments to their full logical conclusions. The suggestion as to the date of Sankara made here by the former is clearly inconsistent with his own conclusion arrived at p. 21 of his said work, where he places Sankara, ' between the middle of the 4th and the 6th i.e., to the 5th century A.C. With regard to the latter, we are unable to understand why he places this monk's birth at the close of the 8th century of the Vikrama Era, whereas his conversion itself is placed in the year 30 of the Vikrama Era. It is clearly opposed to all records.

a Sanyasi, he was already pretty advanced in age and was undoubtedly much older than Sankara himself. We have, therefore, to give him a total period of at least 850 years as his term of life, if we should assume the records of the Sringeri Mutt to be perfect and correct.

Even granting all these, there would arise a fresh difficulty. It was first given out that Prithvidhara (Prithividhava) was its first Acharya after Sankara. Sometimes later the name of Visvarupa had meen mentioned in place of Prithividhava, and both the names were understood to denote one and the same person. The name of Sureswaracharya had not been mentioned till the latter half of the last century as one of the Acharyas of the Sringeri Mutt. It is well-known that Padmapada, Hastamalaka, Totaka, and Sureswara were the immediate disciples and successors of Sankara. Visvarupacharya cannot be identified with Sureswaracharya, and is quite a distinct person from him. It has been distinctly stated in all the ancient Sankara Vijayas that Visvarupa was an incarnation of Yama where as Mandana Misra or Sureswaracharya was uniformly considered as an incarnation of Brahamadeva. * Even the

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*Compare the following stanzas from the 2nd sarga of Prachina Sankara Vijaya of Anandagiri :—

"श्रीशोऽभूत् स सनन्दनः, कमलभूर्जज्ञे तथा मण्डनः
सन् हस्तामलको बभूव पवनो ऽप्यासी दुदङ्कोऽनलः ।
सोऽप्यानन्दगिरित्वामाप धिषणो, भेजे गुहो भट्टतां,
ईशादेशवशात् स चित्सुख वपुर्जातः प्रचेता अपि ॥

मृत्युः पृथ्वीधव इति यमोऽप्या बभौ विश्वरूपो
दध्रे येनाऽखिलजिनजिता तत्प्रतापाख्य धाम ।

identification of Prithividhara (Prithividhava) with Visvarupa is open to serious objections.

लेखा श्चाऽन्ये निगमपदवी मिन्दु सूर्येन्द्रशेष-
प्रख्या: प्रख्यापयितु मुदिता: खण्डनै र्मण्डनैश्च ॥

Compare also the following stanza from the 6th Sarga of Prachina Sankara Vijaya :—

अब्दान् द्वादश सोऽत्यवीवह् दधिव्याख्यानसिंहासनं,
शिष्यान् स्वान् विनयन् स्वभाष्यसरणौ श्रीतुङ्गभद्रातटे ।
मृत्युअंशं पृथिवीधवं विरचयन् पीठेऽथ विद्याभिधे
मुक्त्वा कुम्भभवाश्रमं समसदत् साक्षात् स रामेश्वरम् ॥

Compare also the following stanzas from Sri Sankara Bhagavatpada's Mathamnaya Setu (मठाम्नाय सेतु) relating to the 4th or the Dakshinâmnâya :

तुरीयो दक्षिणाम्नाय: शृङ्गेरी श्रीमठो भवेत् ।
भूरिवाराह्वय स्तत्र सम्प्रदाय: सुशोभन: ॥

सरस्वती भारती च पुरीत्येतद् पदत्रयम् ।
वराहो देवता तत्र रामक्षेत्र मुदाहृतम् ॥

शारदा तस्य देवी स्यात् सर्वकामफलप्रदा ।
पृथ्वीधरा(वा)ख्य आचार्य स्तुङ्गभद्रेति तीर्थकम् ॥
चैतन्याख्यो ब्रह्मचारी कृष्णेन यजुषा युत: ॥

Compare also the stanza from the Prachina Sankara Vijaya, referring to this Amnaya Setu, which runs as follows :—

श्रीसंज्ञेऽथ मठेऽनुतुङ्गविहिते श्रीशारदा संज्ञिते
पीठे तं पृथिवीधवं(रं)च निहितं प्रागेव कुर्वन् स्थिरम् ।

It was to meet this difficulty that the various Sankara Vijayas known to us under the names of Madhavacharya (Vidyaranya), Sadanandacharya and Chidvilasayati had been

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सन्देहे सति सम्प्रदाय मठ पीठाख्यानवाक्यावधि
ष्वेषां तद्गमकं तदैव विदधा ताम्नाय सेतुं च सः ।।

Compare also the Mathamnayas of Dwaraka and Jagannath with reference to Sringeri Mutt, printed at pp. 37-38 in Vidyanataka published in the Vedaprakasa Yantralaya.

चतुर्थो दक्षिणाम्नायः शृङ्गेर्यां वर्तते मठः ।
सम्प्रदायो भूरिवारः, भूर्भुवो गोत्र उच्यते ।।

पदानि त्रीणि ख्यातानि सरस्वती भारतीपुरी ।
वराहो देवता यत्र, क्षेत्रं रामेश्वरं वदेत् ।।

तीर्थं च तुङ्गभद्राख्यं शक्तिः कामासिका स्मृता ।
चैतन्य ब्रह्मचारीति, हस्तामलकदेशिकः ।।

पृथ्वीधराख्य आचार्य इति वा परिपठ्यते ।
अहं ब्रह्माऽस्मि तत्रैव महावाक्यं समीरितम् ।।

यजुर्वेदस्य पठनं तत्र धर्मं समाश्रयेत् ।
अन्ध्रद्रविड कर्णाटक केरलादि प्रभेदतः ।।

शृङ्गेर्यधीना देशास्ते ह्यवाचीदिगवस्थिताः ।
स्वरज्ञानरतो नित्यं स्वरवादी कवीश्वरः ।
संसारसागरा सारहन्ताऽसौ हि सरस्वती ।।

विद्याभारेण सम्पूर्णः सर्वभारं परित्यजन् ।
दुःखभारं न जानाति भारती परिकीर्त्यते ।।

brought into existence and given the appearance of ancient works; and we find how hard they laboured to indentify this Visvarupacharya with Sureswara or Mandana Misra, how they went to the length of saying that Sureswara was blessed by Sankara to live a very long life and to retire from the world only after composing his annotation on his Brahmasutra Bhashya under the name of* Vachaspati Misra. It is threfore clear that the list of Acharyas preserved in the Sringeri Mutt—so far at least as Vidyaranya's predecessors are concerned—is highly imperfect, and will not throw much light either on the real age of Sankara

ज्ञान तत्वेन सम्पूर्णः पूर्णतत्वपदे स्थितः ।
परब्रह्मरतो नित्यं पुरानामा स उच्यते ।।
भूरि शब्देन सौवर्ण्यं वार्यते येन जीविनाम् ।
सम्प्रदायो यतीनां च भूरिवारः स उच्यते ।।
चिन्मात्रं चैत्यरहितं अनन्त मजरं शिवम् ।
यो जानाति सवै विद्वान् चैतन्यं स विधीयते ।। ”

*Vide Madhava's Sankara Vijaya, Sarga XIII. vs. 72-73.

“आलोचयन्नथ तदा तु गतिं ग्रहाणां
ऊचे सुरेश्वर समाह्व मुपह्वरे सः ।
पञ्चैव वत्स चरणाः प्रथिता इहस्यु
स्तत्राऽपि सूत्रयुगलद्वयमेव भूम्ना ।। ७२ ।।
प्रारब्धकर्मपरिपाकवशात् पुनस्त्वं
वाजस्पतित्वं अधिगम्य वसुन्धरायाम् ।
भव्यां विधास्यासि तमां मम भाष्यटीकां
आभूतसंलय मधिक्षिति सा च जीयात् ।। ७३ ।।

or of his successors in the Sringeri Mutt. Taking advantage of the Kumbhakonam Mutt had, in their eagerness to give over-prominence to the Kamakotipitha established by Sankara Bhagavatpada originally at Kanchi of which the Kumbhakonam Mutt is a mere continuation, introduced serious changes in the names of the first Acharyas of the of the various Mathas established by Sankara in India, in their newly framed Mathamanyas and Guruparamparas in direct opposition to Bhagavatpada's own Mathamnaya Setu, † and the various Mathamnayas and Sankara Vijayas and other authenticated traditions presented in the other

† According to Bhagavatpada's Mathamnaya Setu from which an extract of the Dakshinamnaya was already given, are placed Sri Sureswaracharya, Totakacharya, Padmapadacharya and Hastamalakacharya, respectively in the four Amnayas—Paschima (Dwaraka), Uttara (Badarikasrama), Purva (Jagannatha) and Dakshina (Sringagiri). But the expression 'आचार्योऽद्य सुरेश्वरः'— "*For the present* the Acharya for the Dwaraka Matha is Sureswara"—shows that the Great Teacher has been already approached by Sureswara with a request that he may be relieved from the onerous duty of a Mathadhipati, and that Sankara had already yelded to his request, and was waiting only for an early opportunity in finding out a substitute for him. As soon as the name of Brahmasvarupa (Visvarupa) was suggested by Sureswara, he was installed as the first Acharya of the Dwaraka Matha, and he is accordingly counted in the records of the Dwaraka Mutt, as its first Acharya, dating his accession back to the year 2649 Yudhishthira Saka, corresponding to 490 B.C. when the said Mutt as first founded by Sankara.

mutts and in the Tamrpatranusasana issued by King Sudhanvan on Asvina Sukla Purnima (15) of the year 2663 of Yudhishthira S'aka, corresponding to 478 B.C. the advo-

This is corroborated by the records of the Dwaraka Mutt and Govardhana Mutt, as well as by Sudhanvan's Tamrapatranusasana. Further this fact is corroborated by the following stanza from the Sankaracharya-Satpatha of Chitsukhacharyas's Brihat Sankara Vijaya :—

भाष्यव्याख्या प्रकरणगतं सम्प्रधर्यैव वृत्तं
मेधावी स प्रथितधिषणं प्राह तं वृत्तिकारम् ।
न त्वां न्यस्याम्यधिमट मिह क्वाऽपि पीठाधिपत्ये
त्रातुं सर्वां स्त्वमसि त इत स्त्वां गुरुं सङ्गिरन्ताम् ॥

which clearly shows that he was generally authorised to superintend all the Mutts, and that he was regarded by each Mutt, as if he was their own Acharya or Guru.

Compare also the Guruvamsavali presented in the Dwaraka Mutt and published in the 'Vimarsa' by its last Acharya which contains a short account of all the chief incidents of Sankara Bhagavatpada from the time of his birth up to the time of his wonderful Brahmibhava of which the following is only an abstract :—

१. युधिष्ठिरशके २६३१ वैशाख शुक्लपञ्चम्यां श्रीमच्छङ्करावतारः ।
२. २६३६ चैत्रशुक्लनवम्यां उपनयनम् ।
३. २६३९ कार्तिकशुक्लैकादश्यां चतुर्थाश्रम स्वीकारः ।
४. २६४० फाल्गुन शुक्लद्वितीयायां श्रीमद्गोविन्दभगवत्पूज्यपादाचार्याणां सकाशा दुपदेशः ।

... ...

cates of the Sringeri Mutt who had been equally anxious to secure greater prominence to their mutt, naturally took the golden opprotunity in re-casting their Mathamnayas and Guruparamparas, and thereby attempted safely to secure for themselves Sri Sureswaracharya (formerly Mandana Misra) as their 1st Acharya in place of Hastamalakacharya (formerly Prithvidhara or Prithvidhava), who was recognised by all the ancient authorities as the 1st Acharya of the said mutt. The fact is that each of these mutts in southern

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१६. २६४९ चैत्र शुक्लनवम्यां श्रीमन्मन्डनमिश्राणां उत्तमाश्रम दीक्षा, सुरेश्वराचार्या इति योगपट्टश्च ।

१७. २६४९ मार्गशीर्षे शुक्लदशम्यां श्रीमत्सुधन्वन् सार्वभौमस्य शिष्यत्वेन परिग्रहः ।

१८. २६४९ माघ शुक्लसप्तम्यां श्रीमत् सुरेश्वराचार्याणां द्वारवत्यां शारदापीठेऽभिषेचनम् ।

१९. २६५० वैशाखशुक्लतृतीयामारभ्य दिग्विजय महोत्सवारम्भः ।

२०. तदन्तराले हि २६५३, तथा ५४ श्रावणशुक्लसप्तम्याश्विन शुक्लैकादश्योः श्रीमत्तोटकहस्तामलकाचार्ययोः शिष्यत्वेन परिग्रहः ।

२१. २६५४ पौष शुक्लपूर्णिमायां श्रीतोटकाचार्याणां ज्योतिर्मठाऽभिषेचनम्, तद्दिन एव श्रीहस्तामलकाचार्याणां शृङ्गपुरपीठाऽभिषेचन संकेतः ।

२२. २६५५ वैशाख शुक्ल दशम्यां दिग्विजयान्तराले पुरुषोत्तम क्षेत्रं प्रति गमनम्; तत्र दारुमयस्य जगदीशस्य प्रतिष्टापनं तत्पुरीमर्यादाप्रबन्धः, गोवर्धनमठस्थापनं श्रीपद्मपादाचार्याणां तत्पीठऽभिषेचनं च ।

India wished to secure, by hook or crook, the name of Sureswaracharya the greatest of the disciples of Sri Sankara Bhagavatpada to be included in the list of its Acharyas; where as, in fact, Sureswaracharya himself, though he was originally appointed by the Guru as the first Acharya of the Dwaraka Mutt, earnestly longed to retire from the said post by placing his brother Visvarupacharya in his place under the name of Brahmasvarupacharya as is clearly indicated in the Jagadguru Parampara * preserved in the Dwaraka Matha in an unbroken succession of Acharyas from the year 2649 of the Yudhishthira S'aka up to the present date and in King Sudhanvan's * Tamrapatranusana addressed to Sri Sankara Bhagavatpada on the 15th day of the bright half of the month of A'svina in the year

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*Compare the Jagadguru Parampara of the Dwaraka Mutt which runs as follows:

१. श्रीब्रह्मस्वरूपाचार्याः, २६९२ चैत्रवद्याष्टमीपर्यन्तम् ।

२. श्रीचित्सुखाचार्याः, २७२४ पौषशुक्ल तृतीयापर्यन्तम् ।

३. श्रीसर्वज्ञानाचार्याः, २७७४ श्रावणशुक्लैकादशीपर्यन्तम् ।

१८. श्रीनृसिंहाश्रमाः, विक्रमशके ९६६ ज्येष्टवद्यचतुर्दशी पर्यन्तम् ।

N.B.—No doubt some of the late Acharyas of the Dwaraka Mutt with a view to secure Sureswara for their own Mutt, have tried to identify Brahmaswarupacharya with Sureswaracharya, but absolutely no explanation is forthcoming for the change of his name to Brahmasvarupacharya.

*The following is the full text of King Sudhanvan's Copper plate published at p. 29 of the 'Vimarsa':

2663 of the Yudhishthira S'aka corresponding to 478–477

श्रीमहाकालनाथाय नमः
श्रीमहाकाल्यै नमः

श्रीमत्सदाशिवापरावतारमूर्ति-चतुषष्टिकलाविलास विहार-मूर्ति-बौद्धादि सर्व वादिदानवनृसिंहमूर्ति-वर्णाश्रम वैदिक सिद्धान्तोद्धारकमूर्ति-मामकीनसाम्राज्य व्यवस्थापनमूर्ति-विश्वेश्वर विश्व-गुरुपदजगज्जोगीयमानमूर्ति-निखिल योगि चक्रवर्ति-श्रीमच्छङ्कर-भगवत्पादपद्मयोः भ्रमरायमाण सुधन्वनो मम सोमवंशचूडामणि युधिष्ठिर पारम्पर्य परिप्राप्तभारतवर्षस्य अञ्जलिबन्धपूर्वकेयं राजन्यस्य विज्ञप्तिः—भगवद्भि र्दिग्विजयोऽकारि, सर्वे वादिनः पराकृताः, सर्वे वर्णा आश्रमाश्च कृतयुगवत् पूर्णे वैदिकाध्वनि योजिताः, सन्तो यथाशास्त्र माचरन्ति हि धर्मम्, ब्रह्म विष्णुमहेश्वर महेश्वरी स्थानान्यशेषदेशवर्तीनी उद्धृतानि, सर्वब्रह्मकुलमुद्धारितं, विशेष्याऽस्मद्राजकुल मान्वीक्षक्याद्य शेषराजतन्त्र परिशीलनेनोन्नतीं भवति । ब्रह्मक्षत्राद्यस्मत्प्रमुख निखिल विनेयलोकसम्प्रार्थनया चतस्रो धर्मराजधान्यो द्वारका - बदरी - जगन्नाथ - शृङ्गर्षिक्षेत्रेषु शारदा-ज्योति भोगवर्धन - शृङ्गेरी मठापरसंज्ञकाः संस्थापिताः । तत्रोत्तरदिशो योगिजनप्राधान्येन धर्ममर्यादारक्षणं सुकरमेवेति ज्योतिर्मठे श्रीतोटकापरनाम्नः प्रतर्दनाचार्यान्, अथ शृङ्गर्षि आश्रमे शृङ्गर्षिसमस्वभावान् पृथ्वीधराभिधेयहस्तामलकाचार्यान्, भोग-वर्धने स्वत एव अभिमतत्वेन अत्यन्तोग्र स्वभावानपि सर्वज्ञकल्प पद्मपादापरनामधेय-सदानन्दनाचार्यान्, अत बौद्धकापालिकादि सकल वादिभूयिष्ट पश्चिमस्यां दिशि वादिदैत्याङ्कुरः पुनर्माभव-त्विति शारदापीठे किल द्वारकायां जैनै रुत्सादितवज्रनाभनिर्मित

B.C. It was therefore with a view to secure Sureswaracharya as the first in the list of their Ācharyas, the advocates

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भगवदालयादि दुर्दशा दूरीकृत्य, भगवद्भिस्त्रिलोकसुन्दर नाम्ना पुनः सन्निबद्धभगवदालय श्रीकृष्णादि सकलमर्यादा सुसंकृतायामधिगताऽशेष लौकिक वैदिक तन्त्र विश्वविख्यात कीर्ति सर्वज्ञानमयान् मण्डनमिश्रापरनामधेय-सुरेश्वराचार्यांश्च, अस्मत् सर्वलोकाऽभिमतिपूर्वकमभिषिच्य, एवं चतुर्भ्य आचार्येभ्यश्चतस्रो दिश आदिष्टा भारतवर्षस्य। स एते तत्तत्पीठप्रणाड्या निजनिज मेव मण्डलं गोपायन्तो वैदिक मार्ग मुद्भासयन्तु। सर्वे वयं तत्तत्मण्डलस्था ब्रह्मक्षत्रादयः, तत्तन्मण्डलस्यैवाऽऽचार्यस्य, अधिकारधिकृता वर्तिष्यामहे च। महद्विनिर्णयप्रसक्तौ तु, सुरेश्वराचार्य एव, उक्तलक्षणतः, सर्वत्रैव व्यवस्थापका भवन्तु भगवता मनुशासनश्च। अस्मद्राजसत्तेव, निरङ्कुशगुरुसत्तापि, उक्तमर्यादया जगत्यविचलं विचलतु। परिव्राजको हि महाकुलीनत्व वैदुष्यादि-विशिष्टाचार्य लक्षणै रन्वित एव श्री भगवत्पादपीठाना मधिकार मर्हति, न तु विनिमये नेत्येवमादि नियमबन्धो भगवदाज्ञा समवबुद्धः समस्तै रथाऽस्मदादि ब्रह्मक्षत्रादिवंशोद्भवैः, परमप्रेम्णा, उत्तमाङ्गेन आद्रीयत इत्येतां विज्ञप्ति अङ्गीकुर्वन्तु भगवन्त इति, स्वस्ति अस्तु लोकेभ्यः। युधिष्ठरशके २६६३ आश्वन शुक्ल १५ -श्रीसुधन्व-सार्वभौमः।

N. B. All these statements are corroborated by Chitsukhacharya in his Brihat Sankara Vijaya, where however the actual Abhisheka of Sri Hastamalakacharya (Prithvidharacharya) as the 1st Acharya of the Sringeri Mutt is placed on Pausha Sukla Purnima in the year Pingala 2656 y.s. corresponding to 483 B. C.; the Sringeri Matha

of the Kamakotipitham at Kumbhakonam, had forcibly drawn the name of Sureswaracharya from the list of the Acharyas of the Dwaraka Mutt, by substituting Padmapadacharya the first and the next great disciple of the Guru in his place. In doing so, they were naturally forced to place Hastamalakacharya in Govardhana Matha and Visvarupa in Sringeri, as their respective first Acharyas. When so much was done by the advocates of the Kumbhakonam Mutt, the advocates of the Sringeri Mutt naturally took advantage of the situation by securing Sureswaracharya as the 1st Acharya of their mutt by identifying Visvarupa with Sureswara, whose name, they afterwards directly introduced in their Mathamnayas* and Guruparamparas.

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having been already constructed in 2648 y.s. (corresponding to 491 B. C.).

N. B. The Mathamnaya and the Guruparampara are preserved in the Govardhana Matha at Jagannath entirely agree with the above statements. Vide pp. 56–59, Vijnapana of Mitrapramoda of Vidyanataka published by Vidyaprakasa of Govardhana Matha.

*The Mathamnaya of the Sringeri Mutt practically agrees with that of the Kumbhakonam Mutt as recently framed by them and both of them place Padmapada in Dwaraka Mutt, Totaka in Jyotir Mutt, Hastamalaka in Govardhana Mutt and Visvarupa in Sringeri Mutt. But the Sringeri Mutt first identifies Visvarupa, with Sureswaracharya, and thereby the name of Sureswaracharya is directly inserted instead of Visvarupacharya in their recently published Mathamnaya and Guruparampara. Similarly the Guruparampara published by the Kumbhakonam Mutt during recent years has introduced Suresvaracharya as its first Acharya though the same is contradicted by Gururatnamalika of Sri Sadasiva Brah-

Before concluding this subject, we would like to throw a suggestion given with regard to the date of Sankara's birth as preserved in the Sringeri Mutt. Evidently Sri Vidyaranya Swami or one of his successors must have fixed the date of Sankara from some one of the Punyaslokas relating to Sankara's death. We know that the date of his death is mentioned in the Punyaslokamanjari, Brihat Sankara Vijaya, Prachina Sankara and Vyasachaliya Sankara Vijaya as being 2625 of the Kaliyuga. The following is the stanza from the Punyaslokamanjari of Sri Sadasivendra Sarasvati.

"महेशांशाज्जातो मधुरमुपदिष्टाद्वयनयो
महामोहध्वान्तप्रशमनरविः षण्मतगुरुः ।
फले(३२)स्वस्मिन् स्वायुष्यपि शरचराब्देऽपि(२६२५)च कले
विलिल्ये रक्ताक्षिण्यधिवृषसितैकादशि परे ॥"

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mendra and its commentary called Sushama by Atmabodhendra Saraswati which give only Mahadeva or Sarvajna Sankara, the author of Samkshepa Saririka as its first Acharya. Compare stanza 38 of Gururatnamalika and its commentary by Atmabodhendra: सलिलाशन etc. to आचार्यरत्नम् ।—(Vide Jagatguru Ratnamala Stotras pp. 46 to 48 in the new edition published by Kanchi Kamakoti Kosasthanam.—Ed.)

N. B. Evidently we can trace the hand of some new advocate of the Kumbhakonam Mutt in the so-called Stanza 32 of Gururatnamalika beginning with :

पृथिवीधव-पद्मपाद-हस्तामलकानन्दगिरि नतिप्रशस्तान् ।
चतुरोऽकृत यश्चतुर्षु पीठेष्वतुलां न श्चतुरो गिरं स देयात् ॥३२॥

"*The Great Guru, who, born as an incarnation of the great God Siva Himself, reformed the six systems of orthodox religion by establishing the Advaita system of* Philosophy which reconciled all other systems, and who shone like the radiant sun by driving out the darkness of ignorance from all quarters, passed away from the world by entering into his own essence at the age of 32 on the 11th day (Ekadasi) of the bright half (Sukla Paksha) of the month of Vaisakha, of the year Raktakshi in 2625 of the Kaliyuga.

The Brihat Sankara Vijaya of Sri Chitsukhacharya* the first and the foremost of the Sankara Vijayas relating to the history of Adi Sankara referring to the time and place of Sankara's death remarks:

* Sri Chitsukhacharya succeeded Sri Brahmaswarupacharya as the 2nd Acharya of the Dwaraka Mutt, in the year 2691 of the Yudhishthira Saka (448 B.C.) and attained the Brahmibhava on Pausha Sukla Tritiya of the year 2715 of the Yudhishthira Saka (424 B.C) at the advanced age of 80 years He himself states in his Sankara Vijaya in the first or Upodghata Prakarana that he was a native of Gokarna in Kerala, that his Purvasrama name was Vishnu Sarman, that he became closely acquainted with Sankara evenwhile he was a boy reading in the Gurukula as one of his co-students, that he had very high admiration for Sankara's talents and extraordinary knowledge of all the Vaidika and Laukika lores, even before he took the permission of his mother to become a Sanyasin, that he followed Sankara in all his wanderings in search of a Guru to formally initiate him into sanyasa, that he never departed from Sankara from the time he left his native place until he attained his marvellous Brahmibhava at Kanchi, in the presence of the Goddes Kamakshi.

"अद्वैतमातुहिनभूधरमा च सेतोः
आधाय सर्वसुमनश्चय सम्मतार्थम् ।
त्यक्ताङ्कनाद्यवगुणान्यपि षण्मतानि
शैवादिमानि च निरुच्य यथाधिकारम् ॥

Speaking about him Atmabodhendra writes in his commentary on verse 18 of the Jagadgururatnamala of Sadasivendra Saraswati, the 56th Acharya who adorned the Kamakotipitha at Kanchi between 1512 to 1538 A.D. as follows :—

"तथोक्तं प्राचीनशंकरविजये........तदुसदित्याहुः । तद-ज्ञान विजृम्भित.........बृहच्छङ्करविजये—

"शिवगुररूपनीय....................

....

....

.... गुरुं द्याम् ॥"

(See pages 17 to 19 of Jagadgururatnamala stava new edition.-Ed.).

It is clear from this that Atmabodhendra places very great confidence on Brihat Sankara Vijaya, as being the production of Sri Sarvajna Chitsukacharya, an eye-witness of the life and doings of Adi Sankara from the beginning to the end of his career and as being one of Sankara's own direct disciples and co-students. Chitsukha himself says that he was older than Sankara by 5 years. In this work which consists of 224 Prakaranas, Chitsukha has given a full account of Adi Sankara, of Sureswaracharya and of their Purvacharyas, commencing from the supreme Narayana and ending with Govinda Bhagavatpada, and

वाणीं विजित्य च वियद्विशदामदेहां
सर्वज्ञपीठमधिरुह्य च तत्र काञ्च्याम् ।
विद्वद्वरार्चितपदो यमिसार्वभौमो
देव्याः पुरः परतरे पुरुषे विलिल्ये ॥

वह्न्यब्धवशास्त्रनयनाङ्कयुधिष्ठिराब्दे
द्वात्रिंशतं हि शरदो धरणीं विभूष्य ।
श्रीशङ्करेन्द्र गुरुराट श्रितराजसेनः
संश्लिष्य धर्ममखिलं शिवतां प्रपेदे ॥"

'Having established the Advaita philosophy agreeable to all classes of philosophers, from the snowy peaks of the Himalayas to the blue borders of Rama's Bridge, having purified the six religions of the country such as Saivism etc., by wiping out the evil practices, such as marking the body with a piece of red-hot iron etc., that crept into them and by explaining them away according to the principles of his own monistic philosophy; and having

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the book is accordingly divided into 3 parts (1) Purvacharya Satpatha (पूर्वाचार्य सत्पथः); (2) Sankaracharya Satpatha (शङ्कराचार्य सत्पथः); and (3) Sureswaracharya Satpatha (सुरेश्वराचार्य सत्पथः). It is narrated in the form of a dialogue between himself and one of his disciples who afterwards succeeded him, as the 3rd Acharya of the Saradapitha of the Dwaraka Matha under the name of Sri Sarvajnacharya. Chitsukha mentions the various works written by Sankara and Sureswara. Excepting the Bhashyas which are simply referred to, almost all the minor works and Prakaranas of Adi Sankara are quoted in full with the various occasions on which they were composed.

conquered the Invisible Goddess of Learning who manifested herself in the sky and having ascended the Sarvajna-pitha (the throne of the all-knowing master) at the city Kanchi (Conjeevaram), the Emperor of Ascetics, worshipped by the most learned of his time, passed away into the Supreme Being leaving his mortal body in front of the Goddess Kamakshi. Having thus adorned the Earth for a period of 32 years, and having taught the Eternal Dharma to the world in its entirety, the King of the Gurus, Sri Sankara charya attained the state of eternal happiness in the year 2663 of the Yudhishthira Saka (corresponding to 477 B.C.) duly honoured by Rajasena the King of Kanchi at that time.'

The Prachina Sankara Vijaya of * Anandagiri, referring to the death of Sankara, has the following stanza:

"कल्यब्दैश्च शरेक्षणाध्वनयनैः सत्कामकोटिप्रथे
पीठे न्यस्य सुरेश्वरं समवितुं सर्वज्ञसंज्ञं मुनिम् ।
कामाक्ष्याः सविधे स जातु निविश नुन्मुक्तलोकस्पृहो
देहं स्वं व्यपहाय देह्यसुगमं धाम प्रपेदे परम् ॥"

* Next to Brihat Sankara Vijaya, this is perhaps the most ancient book relating to the life of Adi Sankara. It is ascribed to Anandagiri or Anandajnana, the famous annotator of all the Bhashyas of Sankara and the Vartikas of Sureswara. He is the 7th Acharya of the Kamakoti Pitha of the Kanchi Matha and according to the Punyasloka-manjari and the list of Sankara's successors in that Mutt, he is said to have died on his way to Sri Saila in Krodhana of the year 2986 of the Kaliyuga (116 B.C.) after occupying the Kamakoti Pitha for a period of 69 years. He describes himself in this work as the disciple of Sri Suddhananda. On account of its ancient nature it has become known to the

'Having placed Sureswara in charge of the Kamakoti Pitha as guardian to the young ascetic Sarvajna Muni whom he himself installed on the Pitha as his worthy successor, and having once entered the temple of the Goddess Kamakshi, the great master (Sri Sankaracharya) devoid of all worldly desires, attained the supreme state of happiness, unattainable by ordinary mortals, by casting off his mortal body (in a corner of the said temple) in the year 2625 of the Kali Yuga.'

The next book which gives an account of the death of Sankara is the Sankara Vijaya Kavya † of Vyasachaliya,

later writers under the name of Prachina Sankara Vijaya, though it is simply called 'Sankara Vijaya' by the author himself. It is a small work consisting of only 11 Sargas and appears to be mainly an abridgement of Brihat Sankara Vijaya, for he specially states in the introductory portion of the first Sarga that he composed this short account as Chitsukha's work was to massive to be read. This work is referred to both in the so-called Madhava's Sankara Vijaya and Sadananda's Sankara Vijaya under this very name Prachina Sankara Vijaya and Dhanapati Suri, the commentator of both of them, says it is the production of Anandagiri, the famous annotator of Sankara's works and as a matter of fact both these works clearly appear to be a compilation from this ancient work.

† This is evidently one of the genuine Sankara Vijayas, but written long after the time of Abhinava Sankara. Traces of confusion between the two lives of Adi Sankara and Abhinava Sankara can be perceived in this work here and there. Atmabodhendra who quotes very largely from this work, ascribes it to Vidya Sankara, the 51st Acharya

commonly known as Vyasachaliya ; and the following is the account found at the end of the 12th Sarga in the said work:

of the Kamakoti Pitha, and the immediate predecessor of Sankarananda, the author of Atmapurana and the famous annotations on the Prasthana Traya. According to the list of Acharyas in the Kumbhakonam Mutt, he occupied the Kamakoti Pitha from 1296 to 1384 A.D. In his purvasrama, according to the Punyaslokamanjari, he was known as Sarvajna Vishnu, son of Sarngapani of Vyasachala, from which place he was called Vyasachala Kavi. The followers of the Sringeri Mutt on the other hand, claim him as one of their own Acharyas under the name of Vidya Tirtha, the Paramaguru of Sri Vidyaranya, and according to the list of Acharyas preserved in that Mutt, he is said to have attained his siddhi on Kartika Sukla Saptami of the year Srimukha in 1255 of Salivahana Saka (corresponding to 1333 A.D.) at the very advanced age of 105 years.

This work is also referred to in the so-called Madhava's Sankara Vijaya under the name of Vyasachaliya, from which work, indeed, the major portion of the existing Madhaviya Sankara Vijaya appears to have been compiled only with such omissions and modifications as suited the exigencies of the Sringeri Mutt. I had only an imperfect copy of this valuable Sankara Vijaya of Vyasachala, but thanks to the Kumbhakonam Mutt, I have recently secured a complete copy of the said book, which consists of 12 sargas, comprising of 99 pages of foolscap size with about 35 lines of closely written matter in clear grantha character on each page. It is surely destined to throw a good deal of light on the existing Sankara Vijayas—chiefly on the so-called Madhaviya Sankara Vijaya, and we hope to publish the same at an early date.

एवं निरुत्तरपदां स विधाय देवीं
सर्वज्ञपीठमधिरुह्य मठे स्वक्लृप्ते ।
मात्रा गिरामपि तथोपगतैश्च मिश्रैः
सम्भावितः कमपि कालमुवास काञ्च्याम् ।। ८२ ।।

एकः शाखी शङ्कराख्य श्चतुर्धा
स्थानं भेजे पापशान्त्यै जनानाम् ।
शिष्यैः स्कन्धैः शिष्यशाखै र्महद्भिः
ज्ञानं पुष्पं, यत्र मोक्षः प्रसूतिः ।। ८३ ।।

सङ्कोचयन् वादिमुखाम्बजानि
विकासयन् केवल मात्मपक्षम् ।
आनन्दयन् संसृतिमग्न जन्तून्
श्रीशङ्करेन्दु र्जयति प्रकामम् ।। ८४ ।।

शुक्ले च कृष्णे च समानतेजाः
पक्षे बहि श्चाऽन्तर मन्धकारम् ।
अपानुदन् शङ्करदेशिकेन्दु
र्जय त्यपूर्वं क्षिति मात्रचारी ।। ८५ ।।

गोबृन्दै रभिभासय न्नभिमतानर्थान् त्रयीगोचरान्
व्योमव्यापिपदे स्थितो निरवधे र्व्युत्थाय गोत्रोत्तमात् ।
संगृह्यन् वसुधातले विपुलभाः सारं समैः पूजितः
श्रीमच्छङ्करभास्करो विजयते मुष्णन् जनानां नमः ।। ८६ ।।

वर्षेकले: शर-विलोचन-शास्त्र-नेत्रे
रक्ताक्षिनाम्नि वृष-शुक्ल-मुकुन्दतिथ्याम् ।
गच्छन् स जातु सविधे परदेवतायाः
त्यक्तु समैच्छदथ भौतिकमात्मदेहम् ।। ८७ ।।

प्रागष्टमा द्विदितवेध मुदूढबाल्यं
सर्वज्ञसंज्ञ मथ हंसित मात्मनैव ।
श्रीकामकोटिबिरुदे न्यदधात् स्वपीठे
गुप्तं स्वशिष्यतिलकेन सुरेश्वरेण ॥ ८८ ॥

इत्थं स शङ्करगुरुः कृतकृत्यभावात्
भावान् प्रकाश्य निगमान्तगिरां निगूढान् ।
काञ्च्यां विमुच्य वपु रादृतमिच्छयैव
स्वस्यैव धाम्नि परमे स्वयमेव लिल्ये ॥ ८९ ॥

गा माक्रम्य पदेऽधिकाञ्चि निबिडं स्कन्धैश्चतुर्भिस्तथा
व्यावृण्वन् भुवनान्तरं, परिहरं स्तापं समोहज्वरम् ।
यः शाखी द्विजसंस्तुतः फलति तत् स्वाद्यं रसाख्यं फलं
तस्मै शङ्करपादपाय महते तन्म स्त्रिसन्ध्यं नमः ॥

'Having thus non-plussed the Goddess of Learning and having ascended the Sarvajna-Pitha in the Kanchi Matha established by himself and having been duly honoured by the learned men of his time who came to refute with him, Sankara made up his mind to live at Kanchi for sometime.

'The one great tree named Sankara thus spread itself in four quarters with four main trunks in the form of his four great disciples in turn, removing by its refreshing shade the heat of the sun engendered in the hearts of men, with jnana or the knowledge of the Supreme for its flowers, and with moksha or final liberation for its fruits.

'The great moon called Sankara shines forth resplendently on all sides causing the lotus-like faces of his opponents to fade, expanding the lily-like principles of his own system of philosophy, and delighting the hearts of all men sunk in the ocean of samsara or worldly misery.

'Thus this rare moon of a Sankaracharya, though moving on the surface of the earth, shines forth with unprecedented glory, removing the darkness of the world—both external and internal, alike in the bright as well as in the dark half of the month with a uniform and undiminished splendour.

'The great sun of a Sankara Bhagavatpada shines forth gloriously, revered by all the people, removing their darkness of ignorance, gathering all that is beneficial to the world with the wide-spread rays of his splendid intellect, standing forth on the top of that splendid mountain of endless Veda, high above in the firmament of his life, revealing the wonderful meanings hidden in it with the light of his marvellous and inimitable speeches.

'On one occasion, on an Ekadasi day which was specially dear to the Supreme Narayana, the giver of final beatitude, in the bright half of the month of Vaisakha of the year* Raktakshi in 2625 of Kaliyuga while passing by the

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* We find a wonderful corroboration of this date from quite an unexpected source. Thus in describing the birth of Kumarila Bhatta, the Jina Vijaya declares :

"नन्दाः पूर्णं भूश्च नेत्रे (२१०९) मनुजानां च मामतः ।
मेलने वत्सरे धाता युधिष्ठिरशकस्य वै ॥
भट्टाचार्यं कुमारस्य कर्मकाण्डस्य वादिनः ।
जातः प्रादुर्भव स्तस्मिन् विज्ञेयो वत्सरे शुभे ॥"

(Vide p. 4. Samskrita Chandrika, under Mahakavi Kalidasa.)

'It was the year Dhatu when 2109 years had elapsed in Yudhishthira Saka calculating the figures Nanda (9),

side of the temple of the great Goddess Kamakshi, the great Guru suddenly longed to cast off his mortal body.

Purna (0) Bhumi (1) and Netra (2) in the reverse order, be it known, that it was in that auspicious year that the great advocate of Karmakanda, Bhattacharya Kumara was born.'

It is clear from this that Kumarila Bhatta was born in the year 2109 of Yudhishthira Saka, corresponding to the year 2577 of Kaliyuga (525 B.C.). Again it is stated in the same work—Jina Vijaya :

"पश्चात् पञ्चदशे वर्षे शङ्करस्य गते सति ।
भट्टाचार्य कुमारस्य दर्शनं कृतवान् शिवः ॥"

((Vide p. 6 Samskrita Chandrika Nos. I to III Vol. IX)

'Thereupon when 15 years had elapsed from his birth Sankara met Bhattacharya Kumara (for the first time)'

It will be thus seen that Sankara met Kumarila for the first time in the beginning of his 16th year, that is about 494 B.C. as will be shown below.

Referring to the date of the death of Sankaracharya the Jina Vijaya states :

"ऋषि र्बाण स्तथा भूमि र्मर्त्याक्षौ (२१५७) वाममेळनात् ।
एकत्वेन लभेताऽङ्क स्ताम्राक्ष स्तत्र वत्सरः ॥"

(Vide Ibid p.6)

'When we calculate the figures Rishi (7) Bana (5) Bhumi (1) and Martyaksha (2) in the reverse order and obtain the total number of years 2157 in the Yudhishthira Saka, we arrive at the year Tâmraksha (Raktakshi) as the year of Sankara's death.'

'He at once placed the young son of Vardhana who had come to know everything worth knowlng in the world even before he hardly completed his 8th year and whom he himself had initiated into Sanyasa under the appellation of Sarvajna Muni as his immediate successor in the matha known as the Kamakotipitha with Sureswara, the best of his disciples to act as his guardan and regent.

'Having thus fulfilled the mission of his life and having once for all explained to the world the secret teaching of the Upanishads, the Great Master Sankara attained his wonderful Brahmibhava at Kanchi abandoning the mortal body which he assumed at his own free will and compassion and entering the Supreme state of Bliss which was his own.

'Having firmly taken root in the centre of the world known as Kanchi, occupying the other parts of the country by its large branches coming out from its four main trunks, removing the heat of the fever of ignorance by its thick and cool shades, bearing the most sweet fruit called

It is therefore plain from this that Sankara died in the year Raktakshi corresponding to the year 2157 of Yudishthira Saka (2157 + 468 or 2625 of Kaliyuga) corresponding to 477 B.C. which is exactly the date given of Sankara's death in the various Sankara Vijayas above referred to.

The Jina Vijaya also refers to King Sudhanvan as a contemporary of Kumarila and Sankara, and speaks of him as a wicked king and as a persecutor of the pious Jainas. In fact it says :—

"सुधन्वनामको राजा सोऽपि दुष्ट स्तथा भुवि ।
जिनानां येन साधूनां कृतं कदनमद्भुतम् ॥"

(Vide Ibid p. 6)

Mokshananda, and being praised by the Dvijas (Birds) who paticipated in the said fruit, the mighty tree of Sankara stands forth gloriously in the world! We offer our respectful salutations to him on all the three periods of the day.'

Evidently the year 2625 which clearly refers to the Kali Era, must have been mistaken for that of Yudhishthira Saka. Taking the Yudhishthira Saka, like the Jains and the Buddhists, which was then prevalent in the province of Mysore, to have commenced 468 years after Kali Yuga, they must have rendered the year 2625 into Kali Era by adding 468 years to it, and so must have fixed Sankara's death in the year, 3094 of Kali Era. Now in Sringeri and other parts there is up-to-this day, a tradition that Sankara studied all the Vedas in his 8th year, that he learnt all the Sastras in his 12th year, that he conquered all his opponents in his 16th year and that he passed away from the world in his 36th year. This is evidently based upon the following * stanza quoted by the Abhiyuktas :

"चतुर्वेद्यष्टमे वर्षे, द्वादशे शर्वशास्त्रवित् ।
षोडशे सर्वदिग्जेता, षट्त्रिंशे मुनिरभ्यगात् ॥"

Mr, Nagamayya refers to this tradition in his Trivandrum State Manual (Vide Vol. II. p. 389). Accepting the tradition we will arrive at the date 3058 of the Kali Yuga as the year in which Sankara must have been born

* There is also another version of this stanza in our parts as follows :—

"अष्टवर्षे चतुर्वेदान्, द्वादशे सर्वशास्त्रकृत् ।
षोडशे कृतवान् भाष्यं, द्वात्रिंशे मुनि रभ्यगा त् ॥"

deducing 36 from 3094 which will leave exactly 3058 as the balance In some such way, the authorities of the Sringeri Mutt must have originally arrived at the year 3058 of the Kali as the date of Sankara's birth. Accepting Vaisakha Sukla Panchami as the day on which he was born, as is uniformly accepted by all the Mutts, they must have arrived at the present date of Sankara's birth as preserved in the Sringeri Mutt; and a proper understanding of the method by which they arrived at this date, will certainly furnish a clue that Sankara actually died in the year 2625 of the Kali Yuga and not in the year 2625 of the Yudhishthira Saka, as understood by the Buddhist and the Jains. That such mistakes are often made will be apparent to every one from a consideration of the fact that the years mentioned in the Dwaraka Matha have been mistaken for those of the Kali Era, even though the records of the Dwaraka Mutt clearly refer them to Yudhishthira Saka, as understood by the Hindus, commencing 37 years before the beginning of the Kali Yuga. For instance, Brahmasri Kokkanda Venkatratnam Pantulu, in his Telugu Sankara Vijayadhvajamu published by him under the auspices of the Sringeri Mutt refers the years mentioned in the Dwaraka Mutt to the Kali Yuga when he says: "శ్రీ ద్వారకాపీఠాధిపతి సన్నిధినున్న గురుపరంపరా ప్రకారము కలి గతాబ్దములు ౨౬౩౧ వైశాఖ శు. ౫"— that according to the Guruparampara preserved in the Dwaraka Pitha, Sankara was born on Vaisakha Sukla Panchami of the year 2631 of the Kali Yuga—which will give us 471 B.C. as the date of his birth, and not 509 B.C. which we get by taking the year 2631 as referring to Yudhishthira Saka—which Saka is actually mentioned in those records. Or again it is possible that the date of Sankara's death was given in some of the Punya Slokas

relating to him as 2625 without marking the Era to which it referred, as in the oft-quoted stanza :

" निधिनागेभवह्न्यब्दे विभवे मासि माधवे ।
शुक्ले तिथौ दशम्यान्तु शङ्करार्योदयः स्मृतः ॥ "

which was clearly said of Abhinava Sankara or the 38th Acharya of the Kanchi Kamakotipitha and which has been wrongly attributed as referring to Adi Sankara. Here the year 3889 is simply given without stating whether it referred to Kali Era or to any other era prevailing in India. Finding, in some such way, that no era is specifically mentioned, the heads of the Sringeri Mutt must have originally taken the year 2625 as referring to the Yudhishthira Saka which was prevalent among the Jains and the Buddhists in the Mysore Province, and must have arrived at this wrong date—3058 Kali Yuga—as the date of the birth of Adi Sankara.

Further, the suggestion made by us is strongly corroborated by another admitted fact which clearly goes to show that the year 3058 Kali Yuga, corresponding to the year Iswara of the 60 years' cycle, commencing with Prabhava etc, could not have been the date of Adi Sankara's birth even according to his horoscope as preserved in the Sringeri Mutt. The horoscope is evidently based on the following stanza 71 of the second canto of Madhava's Sankara Vijaya :—

" लग्ने शुभे शुभयुते सुषुवे कुमारं
श्रीपार्वतीव सुखिनी शुभवीक्षिते च ।
जाया सती शिवगुरो निजतुङ्गसंस्थे
सूर्ये कुजे रविसुते च गुरौ च केन्द्रे ॥ ७२ ॥"

The stanza literally means :—'That chaste lady, the wife of Sivaguru gave birth to a son, without any difficulty or pain, like the Goddess Parvati, on an auspicious Lagna, aspected by benefics, when the Sun, Mars and Saturn were in their exaltation and Jupiter in Kendra.' This is the interpretation given by the commentator himself, but some scholars like Mr. Pitchu Iyer, interpret the latter half of the stanza as meaning 'that the Sun, Mars, Saturn and Jupiter were then not only in their exaltation, but occupied cardinal positions in relation to the ascendant.'

The following is the detailed account of the horoscope as preserved in the Sringeri Mutt, and as published by Brahmasri Kokkanda Venkataratnam Pantulu Garu at the end of his Sankara Vijaya Dhvajamu :—

श्रीमच्छङ्करभगवत्पादाचार्य स्वामिनां जन्मपत्रिका

क ४	र बु-शु ४-७-१	रा १२	च १० ल
गु ११	आद्रा २-चरणम्		४
१०			५
श ८	के ६	७	६

स्वस्तिश्री जातकाभ्युदय

कल्यादिगताब्दाः-३०५८

सृष्टयादि गतसंवत्सराः-१९५५८८३०५८

सृष्टयादि सौरमासाः-२३४७०५९६६९७

सृष्टयादि अधिमासाः-७२१३८४००१

सृष्टयादि चान्द्रमासाः-२४१९१९८०६९८

सृष्टयादि क्षयतिथयः-११३५६००७३४८

सृष्टयादि सावनद्युगणाः-७१४४०३४१३५९९

ईश्वर सं ।। वैशाख शु-५, आदित्यवारः

मध्याह्नरव्यादि स्फुटग्रहाः

स्फुटरविः ०-११-६१०	गतिः ५८-२०,	अश्विनी-४ रविः
स्फुटचन्द्रः २-११-३९-४६	गतिः ८०८-५२,	आद्रा-२ चन्द्रः
स्फुटकुजः ११-१-२२-५३	गतिः ४६-३३,	पूर्वाभाद्रा-४ कुजः
स्फुटबुधः ०-२०-५६-६	गतिः १२२-५१	भरणी-३ बुधः
स्फुटगुरुः १०-१-३५-२४	गतिः ८-४६	शतभिषम्-३ गुरुः
स्फुटशुक्रः ०-२-५२-६	गतिः ७५-२१	अश्विनी-१ शुक्रः
स्फुटशनिः ८-२४-२९-२५	वक्रगतिः ०-१२	पूर्वाषाढा-३ शनिः
स्फुटराहुः १-७-३५-५	गतिः ३-११	कृत्तिका-४ राहुः
स्फुटकेतुः ७-७-३५-५		अनुराधा-२ केतुः

ईश्वर सं।। वैशाख शु-५, आदिवारः-१२-३४, आर्द्रा-५२-२१, अति ३-४५, वा-१२-३४ अहः-३०-२८, भुक्तिः-१-२७; एतस्मिन् शुभदिने सूर्योदयादि जन्मकालघटिकादिः-११-२५, मिथुनलग्न भुक्तिः-४-१२, एष्यं-१-३, मिथुनलग्ने, चन्द्रहोरायां, बुधद्रेक्काणे, वृषभ शुक्र नवांशे, शनिद्वादांशे, बुधत्रिशांशे, एवं

त्विशुभषड्वर्गवेलायां श्रीमदद्वैतमतोद्धारक श्रीमच्छङ्करभगवत्-पादाचार्य स्वामिनां जननकाल: ॥"

Now the whole of this horoscope supposed to represent the date of Adi Sankara's birth with all its detailed figures and diagrams is solley constructed upon the basis of the above stanza in *Madhava's Sankara Vijaya. Granting

* Placing any construction what-so-ever upon the stanza whether as given by the commentator or by the Cochin Government astrologer, it is in no way possible to obtain the grand sketch of the horoscope as given above by Kokkanda Venkataratnam Pantulu. According to the construction as given by Dhanapati Suri in his commentary called Dindima upon Madhava's Sankara Vijaya, Sun (सूर्य:), Mars (कुज:) and Saturn (शनि:) were in their exaltation (तुङ्ग) and Jupiter (गुरु:) in Kendra (केन्द्र), at the moment when Sankara was born; for he says in commenting upon this stanza :

'लग्ने शुभे, शुभेन ग्रहेण युक्ते, शुभेन तेन दृष्टे च, पुनश्च सूर्यादौ स्वतुङ्ग संस्थे-निजतुङ्गा उच्चस्थानानि सूर्यादीनां क्रमेणोक्तानि—

"अज-वृषभ-मृगाऽङ्गना-कुलीरा: ।
झष-वणिजौ च दिवाकरादितुङ्गा: ॥"

इति । अजो मेष:, मृगो मकर:, अङ्गनाकन्या, कुलीर: कर्कट:, झषो मीन:, वणिक् तुला। तथाच, सूर्येमेषस्थे, कुजे भौमे मकरस्थे, रविसुते मन्दे तुलास्थे, गुरौ च केन्द्रे लग्नचतुर्थाद्यन्यतमराशिस्थे. (चकारौ उक्तानुक्तसमुच्चयार्थौ), शिवगुरो

that the interpretation put upon it by Mr. C. V. Pichchu Aiyar, the Cochin Government Astrologer, is the true

भार्या सती, सुखिनी सुखवती (न त्वन्यस्त्रीवद्गर्भपीडिता), कुमारं शिशुं, सुषुवे, यथा श्रीपार्वती, कुमारं स्कन्दं, सुषुवे तद्वत् । अनेन गर्भप्रवेशादिकं मायया प्रदर्श्य सदाशिवः शङ्कराचार्यरूपेण प्रादुरभूदिति दर्शितम् । वसन्ततिलका छन्दः ॥ ७१ ॥

In this case सूर्य (Sun), कुज (Mars) and शनि (Saturn must be respectively in मेष (I or Aries) मकर (X or Capricornus) and तुला (VII or Libra), if they should be in their exaltation; but whereas, according to the horoscope in question only Surya is in Mesha, and Kuja and Sani are respectively in Mina (XII or Pisces) and Dhanus (IX or Sagittarius) which are not their places of exaltation. Again the Kendra and the position of गुरु (Jupiter) will depend upon the Lagna, a moment of time in which Sankara was born. If according to our learned Pantulu who is advocating the opinion of the Sringeri Mutt, Sankara was born in Mithuna (III or Gemini) Lagna, then, according to the interpretation of the commentator, Guru (Jupiter) must be either in Mithuna itself or in Kanya (VI or Virgo), Dhanus (IX) or Mina (XII), whereas, according to our learned Pandit, Guru (Jupiter) is placed in Kumbha (XI or Aquarius) which is in neither Kendra nor Tunga.

Further, if the stanza should be interpreted to mean that Surya (Sun) Kuja (Mars), Sani (Saturn) and Guru (Jupiter) were not only in their exaltation (तुङ्ग) but also in Kendra as is actually interpreted by Mr. C. V. Pichchu Iyer and Dewan Bahadur L.D. Swamikannn Pillai—then

one, (with which our eminent scholar, Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai seems to agree) the stanza by itself cannot show in what year Sankara was born, as the particular combination of the planetary bodies can be obtained once in every cycle; and Sankara might have been born in any one of these cycles. Against all the usual practice of oriental poets and historians, the author of this Sankara Vijayam, whoever he may be, has not chosen to

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they must respectively be placed in Mesha (I), Makara (X), Tula (VII) and Karkata (IV), and the Lagna of Sankara's birth must likewise be either Karkata, Tula, Makara or Mesha, but in no case in Mithuna Lagna as assumed by the advocates of the Sringeri Mutt. Excepting the fact that Sankara is said to have been born in the muhurta called Abhijit which corresponds to the ghatikas 14 to 16 in the mid-day, which may come either in Mithuna or in Kataka, according to the number of days elapsed in the month of Mesha (corresponding to Vaisakha Sukla Panchami, which is accepted by all Mutts as the day of Sankara's birth) evan if 5 days had elapsed in the month, the Kataka Lagna will commence about 14—15 and last till 19—10. If a few days more had elapsed, then the Abhijit muhurta must be placed entirely in Kataka. So it is highly probable that Sankara must have been born in Kataka Lagna, which will then satisfy all the conditions required by the stanza according to the second interpretation. The position of the other planets is not given, and we can only fix the position of the Moon (चन्द्र) in Mithuna (III Gemini), having regard to the position of the Sun in Mesha, since it is uniformly accepted that Sankara was born in Mesha Sukla Panchami. Accepting the second interpretation, the following may represent the

give the year of Sankara's birth, either according to the era of Kali Yuga or any one of the numerous Indian eras

probable horoscope of Sankara as far can be noted from the particuiars have given in the stanza itself :—

१२ मीने-४-१०	१ मेषे-४-२८ सूर्यः	२ वृषभे-५-४	३ मिथुने-५-२९
११ कुम्भे-४-१७	श्रीरस्तु श्रीमदादिशंकराचार्याणां **जातकम्**		४ कर्कटे-५-२५ गुरुः ल
१० मकरे-४-४७ कुजः	कल्यादि २५९३ नन्दने, मेष शुक्ल पञ्चम्यां, पुनर्वसौ, कटकलग्ने, अभिजिन्मुहूर्ते जननम्		५ सिंहे-५-९
९ धनुषि-५-२१	८ वृश्चिके५-३५	७ तुलायां-५-२६ शनिः	६ कन्यायां-५-४

N.B.—Nothing is however stated regarding the Lagna under which Sankara was born. We may take it to be Kataka Lagna. The Sringeri Mutt holds that Sankara was born under the constellation Ardra, the Kanchi Mutt, on the other hand holds that he was born under the constellation Punarvasu. As we have however fixed the Lagna to be Kataka, Sankara must have been born in Punarvasu and not in Ardra.

such as Yudhishthira Saka, Vikrama Saka, Salivahana Saka, etc., and has not given even the particular year of Prabhavadi-gatabda, nor has he given, at least the month, Nakshatra, Tithi, Vara or Lagna under which Sankara was born. If it be considered to be complete in itself, (which is not, however, the case, as will be shown below), it is nothing but a random statement in imitation of Rama's Jataka in Valmiki's Ramayana without its particulars as to the month, Tithi, Nakshatra etc., and it has been rightly considered by all authorities as entirely worthless. Mr. Pichchu Aiyar himself is forced to admit the weakness of his argument; for he says: "Furnished with the above data, some may suppose that the Acharya's birth-date can be easily determined, if the year in which this particular planetary combination occured, for the combination referred to in the sloka is not confined to any one particular year in the past. It may have occured in several cycles."

The Cochin Government Astrologer has, however done one great service to the country by pointing out that such planetary combination could not have occured in the year 3058 of the Kali Yuga, corresponding to 44 B.C., as is now held by the Sringeri Mutt. The learned astrologer is also positively certain that this particular combination of the planetary bodies did not occur in the year 3889 of the Kali Yuga corresponding to 787 A.D—the date usually given by Max Muller and other Oriental scholars as referring to the date of the birth of Adi Sankara on the authority of an imperfect understanding of a solitary verse picked out of a small composition in Sanskrit by an anonymous writer, which evidently refers in unmistakable terms (when the whole composition is properly understood) to

the date of the birth of the Abhinava Sankara, the 38th Acharya of the Kamakoti Pitha at Kanchi. Supposing, then that Adi Sankara was born between the latter half of the 8th century and the former half of the 9th century of the Christian Era (for which, however, there is absolutely no authority), Mr. Pichchu Aiyar argues that Sankara must be placed in the year 805 A.D. if really this particular planetary combination occured during his birth-time; and Dr. Swamikannu Pillai, a no less authority upon the subject, entirely agrees with Mr. Pichchu Aiyar upon these points and actually gives 805 A.D. as the date of the birth of Sankara.

On the other hand, apart from this negative proof, we have also secured positive evidence upon the point. We have ascertained from two of the greatest modern astrologers of Southern India, that this particular combination of the planetary bodies did actually occur on Vaisakha (Mesha) Sukla Panchami of the year Nandana in 2593 of the Kali Yuga, corresponding to 509 B.C.—the date of the birth of Adi Sankara as is uniformly held by all the other Advaitic Mutts established by Adi Sankara in India and so the stanza above quoted is perfectly correct so far as it goes, if Sankara was born in 509 B.C. Fortunately for us the clue has been obtained, and the doubt so long entertained has vanished, by the discovery of a complete manuscript copy of Vyasachala's Sankara Vijaya from which the above stanza has been stealthily taken by the author of the so-called * Madhaviya Sankara Vijaya,

* This Sankara Vijaya which goes under the name of Madhavacharya or Sri Vidyaranya Swami, could never have been the composition or compilation of that great Vedic savant to whom it is now ascribed or attempted to be

who is obliged to omit, of course, the stanza immediately preceding the above one, giving full particulars of the date of the birth of Sankara, which indeed, did not agree with the date already assumed by the advocates of the Sringeri Mutt.

The passage in question is found in Vyasachala's Sankara Vijaya as stanzas 20 and 21 of its 4th canto as follows:—

ascribed. The author of it, whoever he may be, must be guilty of plagiarism of which charge the famous Vidyaranya Madhavacharya could not be guitly. A comparison of Anandagiri's Prachina Sankara Vijaya and Vyasachala's Sankara Vijaya Kavya with this so-called Madhaviya Sankara Vijaya or the Samkshepa Sankarajaya of Madhava as it is actually styled by the author himself, would at once show that the latter must have been mainly copied from the two former Sankara Vijayas—of course, with such omissions and commissions, mutilations and modifications, as every plagiarist or chora kavi used to do, as is well said by the celebrated author of Harsha Charita in the following stanza :—

"अन्यवर्णपरावृत्या बन्धचिह्ननिगूहनैः ।
अनाख्यातः सतां मध्ये कवि श्चोरो विभाव्यते ॥"

This remark is literally and absolutely true of the author of the so-called Madhaviya Sankara Vijaya, which we have proved to be the work of a comparatively modern advocate of the Sringeri Mutt, and consequently of no historical value.

N.B.—The Vishva Kosha, the Bengali Encyclopaedia edited by Nagendranath Bose of Calcutta, published in 1892

'अब्दे कले रनल-वर्ष-शराक्षिसंख्ये
श्रीनन्दने दिनमणा वुदगध्वभाजि ।
राधेऽधिपञ्चमि तिथा वसितेतरायां
वारे रवे रदितिभे शुभयोगयुक्ते ॥ २० ॥

discussing, about the Sankara Vijaya of Madhava writes as follows: उक्त ग्रन्थ माधवाचार्य विरचित कहकर प्रसिद्ध है । किंतु संक्षेप शङ्कर-विजय में उसका व्यतिक्रम देखकर ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि, यह माधवाचार्य नामा एक दूसरे शृंगेरी मठावलम्बी आधुनिक व्यक्ति का रचा है । इसके बाद इस पुस्तक की रचना प्रणाली माधवाचार्य कि अन्यान्य रचना पद्धिति से बिलकुल पृथक् है ।'—(The work said to be written by the famous Madhava (Vidyaranya) enjoys a great popularity. But this Samkshepa Sankara Vijaya reveals a wide divergence. It is clear from this that some inferior scribe with the pseudonym of Madhava must have written this. It differs widely from the great author (Vidyaranya) both in style and diction.)

The reader is also referred to an article in Telugu with the caption 'శంకర విజయకర్త యెవ్వరు?' by Veturi Prabhakara Sastri, of the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, published in the Literary Supplement of the Andhra Patrika of Durmathi Margasira (1921-'22) where an interesting note about the author of the above mentioned 'Sankara Vijaya' is given. Here is an English rendering of a portion of that article—'I happened to meet at Bapatla, Brahmasri Vemuri Narasimha Sastri, during my recent tour in the Guntur district, in quest of manuscripts. I mentioned casually to him my doubts regarding the authorship of 'Madhaviya Sankara Vijaya.' He revealed

लग्ने शुभे शुभयुते सुषुवे कुमारं
श्रीपार्वतीव सुखिनी शुभवीक्षिते च ।
जाया सती शिवगुरो निजतुङ्गस्थे
सूर्ये कुजे रविसुते च गुरौ च केन्द्रे ॥ २१ ॥"

"In the auspicious year Nandana corresponding to 2593 of the Kaliyuga, while the Sun (the jewel of the day) was on his northern course (Uttarayana), on Sukla Paksha Panchami of the month of Vaisakha (Mesha) on Sunday in combination with Punarvasu, the nakshatra presided over by Aditi, and in an auspicious Yoga, and in an auspicious Lagna (Karkata) with auspicious Grahas

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to me some startling facts. When he was at Madras some 15 years ago, he had the acquaintance of the late Bhattasri Narayana Sastri who wrote the 'Sankara Vijaya' published in the name of Madhava—*i.e.* Vidyaranya and that four others helped him in this production. The importance of the Sringeri Mutt is very much in evidence in this 'Sankara Vijaya.' Taking a copy of the Vyasachala Grantha, available at the Sringeri Mutt, Bhattasri Narayana Sastri made alterations here and there and produced the 'Sankara Vijaya' in question. That he was an expert in such concoctions, is widely known among learned men.'

To cite another evidence to prove the spuriousness of this Madhaviya Sankara Vijaya, Mr. N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu of Anantapur has clearly stated that the style of the 'Madhaviya Sankara Vijaya' differs from Vidyaranya's. Further Mr. Pantulu writes, that the author of the said 'Sankara Vijaya' also adopts bodily twenty-four slokas in the 12th Sarga, from another work known as 'Sankarabhyudaya' by Rajachudamani Dikshita, a great court-poet of Nayak Kings.—Ed.

and aspected by benefics, when Sun, Mars and Saturn were in their exaltation and Jupiter in Kendra, the chaste lady (Aryamba), wife of Sivaguru, without any pain of labour, gave birth to a son, (Adi Sankara) like the Goddess Parvathi, the consort of Lord Mahadeva, who gave birth to Kumaraswami, without actually conceiving him in her womb."

Now the passage is intelligible and consistent with the usage of poets and historians, and it certainly now has a scientific value as a chronological record. Without the first stanza which gives the particulars indicative of the era, year, month and date, the second stanza which merely exhibits the places of four of the planets at the particular moment of Sankara's birth, will be perfectly useless for the purpose of constructing any genuine horoscope. Without the previous portion, the subsequent portion of this passage referring to the time of the birth of Sankara, would indeed, be a mere astrological excrescence; and yet the author of the so-called Madhaviya Sankara Vijaya while he had no scruples to copy out the verses whole-sale from Vyasachala's Sankara Vijaya, had been obliged and commanded to copy-out only the latter portion of Sankara's horoscope; as the former portion, if retained, would directly militate against the date already assumed by the heads and advocates of the Sringeri Mutt, on whose behalf, the author was evidently engaged to make this huge fabrication out of the two genuine works of Anandagiri and Vyasachala. But alas! neither the author nor his employers knew when they retained this second stanza along with numerous other stanzas from Vyasachala's Sankara Vijaya, that they were leaving a thorn in their way, and the verse alone which they wished to retain in imitation of Rama's Jataka would recoil as a strong piece of internal evidence against their own theory.

Indeed, the whole of the second Canto (Sarga) of the so-called Madhaviya SankaraVijaya is a bare copy and adaptation of Cantos I and IV of Vyasachala's Sankara Vijaya; as the first canto with the exception of the introductory verses and a few additions and alterations is freely borrowed from Anandagiri's Prachina Sankara Vijaya from which the so-called Madhava and Sadananda freely rifle and adopt into their works whatever passages that are found there provided they are not calculated to prejudice the interest of the Sringeri Mutt. In fact, plagiarism cannot reach a higher limit than it has reached in this work. The accompanying * analysis will be sufficient to prove the nature and extent of the plagiarism from which a generalestimate of the whole work can be gathered.

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* Analysis of Canto II of Madhava's Sankara Vijaya as compared with Cantos I and IV of Vyasachaliya Sankara Vijaya :

(*a*) Stanzas 1 to 5 of Madhava's Sankara Vijaya is an expansion of Canto I of Vyasachala's Sankara Viyaya. By thus expanding, the author evidently wanted to introduce Rajasekhara, the author of Viddhasalabhanjika, Karpuramanjari, Balaramayana and Prachanda Pandava as a contemporary of Sankara, and the King of Kerala at that time. Rajasekhara however cannot be earlier than 9th centuary A.D. and the internal evidence goes to show that Rajasekhara is not regarded and a writer of any great antiquity, although, no doubt, in the opinion of the author of this huge fabrication of considerable merit.

(*b*) Stanzas 6 to 46 of Canto II of Madhava's Sankara Vijaya beginning with 'स ब्रह्मचारी गुरुगेहवासी' etc., and ending with 'फलं स्थिरं जङ्गमरूपमैशम्' ॥ ४६ ॥ are exactly

Before concluding the subject, we would like to give, in this connection, the reference contained in other Sankara Vijayas or other works, relating to the date of birth of Adi Sankara. We have already noticed the verse referring to Sankara's birth as given in Madhava's Sankara Vijaya. The Sankara Vijaya Vilasa of Chidvilasa gives some further

the same as stanzas 2 to 42 of Canto 1 of Vyasachala's Sankara Vijaya.

(*c*) Stanza 47 of Canto II of Madhaviya is a slight modification of stanza I of Canto IV of Vyasachaliya.

(*d*) Stanza 48 of Canto II of Madhava's work is a mere paraphrase in a different metre of the substance of stanza 2 of Canto IV of Vyasachala's work.

(*e*) Stanzas 49 to 65 of Canto II of Madhaviya Sankara Vijaya are exactly the same as stanzas 3 to 19 of Canto IV of Vyasachaliya Sankara Vijaya.

(*f*) Stanzas 66 to 70 of Canto II of Madhava's book are new and in different metre, descriptions of the pregnancy of Sankara by Aryambal in imitation of the pregnancy of Gautama Buddha by Maya Devi in Asvaghosha's Buddha Charita, and that of Sankara himself in Rajachudamani Dikshita's Sankarabhyudaya.

(*g*) Stanzas 71 to 75—"लग्ने शुभे etc., to श्रीव्यासाचल चित्तकमलं विकची बभूव ॥ ७१ ॥" are same as stanzas 21 to 25 of Canto IV of Vyasachala's Sankara Vijaya, excepting the fact that the so-called Madhava omits stanza 20 of the said work beginning with "अब्दे कले रनलवर्ष-शराक्षिसंख्ये" etc., already quoted and explained above.

(*h*) Stanzas 76 to 78 of the Canto II of Madhaviya Sankara Vijaya beginning with "सर्वाभि राशाभि रलं प्रपेदे"

particulars about the date of the birth of Sankara, but one can easily see that it is all purely written in imitation of Rama's horoscope in Valmiki's Ramayana. This is what it says about Sankara's birth :—

"ततः सादशमे मासि संपूर्णशुभलक्षणे ।
दिवसे माधवर्तौ च स्वोच्चस्थे ग्रहपञ्चके ॥ ३७ ॥
मध्याह्ने चाऽभिजिन्नाममुहूर्तेऽदितिसंयुते ।
उदयाचलवेलेव भानुमन्तं महौजसम् ॥ ३८ ॥
प्रसूता तनयं साध्वी गिरिजेव षडाननम् ।
जयन्त मिव पौलोमी, व्यासं सत्यवती यथा ॥ ३९ ॥

(Vide Sankara Vijaya Vilasa, Adhyaya V, verses 37 to 39)

etc., and ending with "रराज तत्तादृशराज तेजसा ॥ ७८ ॥" are no doubt new and show the author's poetic skill in expanding Anantanandagiri's description on the subject.

(*i*) Stanzas 79 to 80 Canto II of Madhava's work are the same as stanzas 26 to 31 of Canto IV of Vyasachala's Sankara Vijaya.

(*j*) Stanza 84 of Canto II of Madhaviya is a slight emendation of stanza 32 of Canto IV of Vyasachaliya.

(*k*) Stanzas 85 to 93 including this concluding verse of Canto II of Madhava's Sankara Vijaya are new and have no correspondence with Vyasachala's work. These verses have been added to the work to verify Sankara as an incarnation of Siva, and to give a personal description of the appearance of Sankara even as a child. Some of the descriptions are already found in Chitsukhacharya's Brihat Sankara Vijaya, although the author does not refer to him, either directly or by implication. On the other hand the works of Anandagiri and Vyasachala are directly referred to

According to this, Sankara was born in Vasanta Ritu (Spring season) in the noon of an auspicious day in the Abhijit Mahurta and under * the constellation Punarvasu. It is also added that at that time of his birth five planets were in their exaltation. What these planets are, we are not told. Nothing either astronomically or astrologically can be done to find out the particular day on which the planets assumed such position. We shall presently show how these stanzas are a mere modification of the verses found in Brihat Sankara Vijaya of Chitsukhacharya whose verses are copied freely even without the slightest variation. The work advisedly omits all references pertaining to Sankara's birth which go to fix it at 509 B.C; in as much as the authorities of the Sringeri Mutt, on whose behalf the work was evidently compiled by a comparatively modern writer, had already placed his birth in the year 3058 of the Kali Yuga corresponding to 44 B.C.

Sadananda's Sankara Vijaya is even more silent than the above two. It says :—

"सुमुहूर्ते शुभे लग्ने स्वोच्चस्थे ग्रहपञ्चके ।
सा सती सुषुवे बालं शङ्कराख्यं जगद्गुरुम् ॥ ३३ ॥"

(Vide Sankara Digvijaya Sara, Sarga I. v. 33)

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in Madhava's Sankara Vijaya, and the author, whoever he may be cleverly allows the readers to draw the conclusion that his work was mainly composed on the basis of the Prachina Sankara Vijaya and Vyasachaliya.

* There is however another variant 'चार्द्रया युते' in place of 'अदिति संयुते' which will show that Sankara was born under the constellation Ardra, in which case he must have been born in Mithuna Lagna, which we have shown to be impossible under the circumstances.

'Aryamba gave birth to Sankara, the world-teacher in an auspicious hour and in an auspicious Lagna when five of the planets were in Uchcha (exaltation). It is therefore an absolutely worthless piece of evidence for fixing the date of Sankara's birth.

Vallisahaya Kavi's Sankara Vijaya is equally worthless upon the point. It simply says:—

"शुभंयौ ज्योतिषगुणद्योतिते प्रथिते तिथौ ।
शिशुं साऽसूत सासूयवादि दन्तिमृगाधिपम् ॥"

(Vide, Acharya Dig-Vijaya, Kolahala I. p. 21)

'Aryamba gave birth to a child who was like a lion to his elephant-like opponents, on an auspicious and well known day, which was deemed brilliant in every respect from an astrologer's point of view.'

Rajachudamani Dikshita's Sankara Vijaya known as Sankarabhyudaya, though excellent in itself, contains no particulars whatsoever regarding the time of the birth of Adi Sankara. It simply states :

"शुभंयुनि दिने सूनु महंयुकुमतासहम् ।
प्रासूत गुहमात्रे सा सासुयेव शुचिस्मिता ॥ २६ ॥"

'That noble lady (Aryamba) of pure smile gave birth to a son (Sankara) who could not patiently put up with the wicked religions of the selfish people, on an auspicious day, as if he was jealous of the Mother of Guhaswami (Subrahmanya).'

So, whatever may be the value of these five Sankara Vijayas (of Madhava, Sadananda, Chidvilasa, Vallisahaya and Rajachudamani Dikshita), they do not in any way assist us in arriving at the date of Sankara ; and we need not trouble ourselves any more with these five works.

For the same reasons, we have to pass over the Sankara Vijaya of Anantanandagiri, known as Acharya Vijaya mistaken by many as the work of Anandagiri himself, the famous annotator of all the Bhashyas of Sankara and the Vartikas of Sureswara. No doubt, the work was written long before the controversy between the Kumbhakonam and the Srlngeri Mutts had sprung, but it was written certainly long after the confusion between the lives of Adi Sankara and Abhinava Sankara had arisen in the minds of the people. For the author says :

"There was a Brahman of great repute by name Sarvajna at Chidambaram. He had a daughter by name Visishta from his wife Kamakshi. She had been given in marriage to a learned Brahman by name Visvajit, and Sankara was born to them" The author, then, concludes :

"प्राप्ते तु दशमे मासि विशिष्टागर्भगोलत: ।
प्रादूरासी न्महादेव: शङ्करचार्य नामत: ।।
आसी त्तदा पुष्पवृष्टि: देवसङ्घै: प्रचोदिता ।
नेदु र्दुन्दुभिया दिव्या: स्वर्गलोके चिरं सुखम् ।।"
इत्यनन्तानन्दगिरिकृतौ आचार्यविजये
श्रीमच्छङ्करभगवत्पादाचार्याख्य श्रीमदद्वैतसिद्धान्त-
श्रीपरमगुरो रवतारकथाप्रकरणं द्वितीयम् ।। २ ।।

From the concluding portions of the second Prakarna it is clear that the author of this work confounds Abhinava Sankara, who was born to Visishta by Visvajit at Chidam baram with Adi Sankara born to Aryamba by Sivaguru at Kalati, and further the work does not give the year of Sankara's birth either according to any of the eras current in India, or even according to Prabhavadi-gatabada; nor even the day, month or constellation under which Sankara was born.

Passing to the Sankara Vijaya of Govindanatha, better known as Keraliya Saakara Vijaya, we come across with some better particulars which go to corroborate our conclusions as to the actual date of Sankara's birth. Referring to the time of Sankara's birth, the author says :—

"प्रवृद्धे तत्र चाऽसूत नन्दनं नन्दने शुभे ।
वैशाखे मासि, पञ्चम्यां शुक्लपक्षे, पुनर्वसौ ॥ ५३ ॥

प्रादुर्भावे कुमारस्य लग्न मासीत् सुशोभनम् ।
बलयुक्त शुभज्योति स्समारूढ समीक्षितम् ॥ ५४ ॥

येन सर्वज्ञता मेति जातवान् भुवि मानुष: ।
स च योगोऽप्यभू त्तस्य द्विजपुत्रस्य सम्भवे ॥ ५५ ॥

—(Vide * Keraliya Sankara Vijaya, Canto II, V, 53—56.)

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* The above work has been recently published at Pattambi in Malayalam character in connection with the installation of the idols of Sankara and Saradamba at Kalati by his Holiness Sri Sivabhinava Nrisimha Bharati Swamigal, the late Sankaracharya of the Singeri Mutt in 1910, with a number of omissions and commissions under the name of 'Acharya Charitam' ; and a comparison of the said work with the old manuscript copy of Keraliya Sankara Vijayam in our possession and with the manuscript copies (No. 22-3-11 and 15 B-5-5) of the said work In the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, at Madras and with the select passages quoted from it in Atmabodhendra's commentary on Gururatnamalika shows that the present publication of Acharya Charitam is practically the same as the Keraliya Sankara Vijaya. The work is wrongly ascribed by the publisher to one Govinda, and he draws this conclusion from stanza I of the 10th Adhyaya of the said work, where however the reading.—

"When the pregnancy had fully advanced she (the wife of Sivaguru) brought forth a son (Sankara) in the auspicious year of Nandana under the constellation of Punarvasu;

"कृतं गोविन्दनामेन यतिभक्ति सहायतः ।
पुण्यं श्रीशङ्कराचार्यं चरितं लोकपावनम् ॥ १ ॥"

is a clean mistake for कृतं गोविन्दनाथेन etc., which is the actual reading of the manuscripts above referred to and which shows that the real name of the author is Govindanatha, a devotee of Vishnu, and evidently a native of Kerala, from which fact the work came to be known as Keraliya Sankara Vijaya.

In place of stanza 53 given above, the Malayalam Edition reads only one line as follows :—

"प्रवृद्धे तत्र चाऽसूत नन्दनं समये शुभे"

which means simply that when she was fully advanced in pregnancy she brought forth a child on an auspicious day. It is evident from the several omissions and commissions contained in the edition, that the publisher is an advocate of the Sringeri Mutt, that he advisedly omits any passage in the said work which went in any way against the prestige, reputation and interest of the said Mutt and that he has added, in time and out of time, such of the narratives that went in support of the theories maintained by the heads of the said Mutt. In fact, as it is stated in the preface the publisher intended to present this work to His Holiness the late Sankaracharya of the Sringeri Mutt, when he established the idol of Sankara at Kalati, the admitted birth place of Adi Sankara. Another favourite theory with the heads of the Sringeri Mutt, in the life of Adi Sankara, is their ascribing to this Sankara, the Sarvajna-pithadhirohanam

the *15th day of the bright half of the* month of Vaisakha. At the birth of the son, the ascending sign (Lagna) under

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at Kashmir, which even according to all impartial opinions, is ascribed only to Abhinava Sankara or the 38th Acharya of the Kamakoti Pitha. The heads of the Sringeri Mutt, evidenly did not like the idea that Sankara lived his last days of life at Kanchi, and that he established a Matha there for himself, and ascended the Sarvajna Pitham there, thinking that it will thereby enhance the value and importance of the Kanchi Mutt. So the heads of the Sringeri Mutt, including the author of the so-called Madhaviya Sankara Vijaya, wanted to omit that fact, and started the theory that Adi Sankara, after establishing the Sringeri Mutt, went back to Kashmir, and there after ascending the Sarvajna Pitham he disappeared finally in Dattatreya Guha, which is true only of Abhinava Sankara.

So the publisher of this work, thinking that this stanza will go against the reported date of Sankara's birth as maintained by the Sringeri Mutt, has altogether omitted the 2nd line, and substituted 'समये' in place of नन्दने as according to the Sringeri Mutt, Adi Sankara was born in the year Isvara (ईश्वर) and not in the year Nandana (नन्दन), and under the constellation Ardra (आर्द्रा) and not Punarvasu (पुनर्वसु).

The very same dodge is played by the publisher with regard to the Sarvagna-pithadhirohanam of Sankara at Kanchi. Unwilling to grant that Sankara ascended the Sarvajna-Pitha at Kanchi, the 9th Adhyaya of the present publication is hopelessly meddled with and confused.

The following is the beginning of the 9th Adhyaya of

which he was born was very auspicious and aspected by benefic planets which were powerful and in their exaltation.

'Acharya charitam' as it is now published in the Malayalam character :—

"सर्वज्ञ: शिष्य संयुक्त: शङ्करो देशिकेश्वर: ।
भूमिं प्रदक्षणीकृत्य भूय: काञ्चीपुरं गत: ॥ १ ॥

जम्बूद्वीपस्य कुर्वाणे शोभां भारतमण्डले ।
शस्तं काश्मीरनामानं देशं विद्योतयन् भृशम् ॥ २ ॥

कामाक्ष्या नाम वाग्देव्या: स्थानं तत्पुर माप्तवान् ।
सर्वज्ञापीठमारोढु मियेष मुनिपुङ्गव: ॥ ३ ॥

Now in the 7th Adhyaya, a full description of the city of Kanchi, and of the construction of the three great temples at Kanchi with the help of Rajasena, the king of Kanchi, at that time, and of the establishment of a Matha by Sankara at that sacred place is given. In the 8th Adhyaya, a description of Sankara's victorious tour to Rameswaram and to other parts of Southern India is appended. Now, then in the beginning of the 9th Adhyaya, the above verses show that the great teacher Sankara finally came to Kanchi, and on reaching that sacred city presided over by the Goddess Kamakshi, he desired to ascend the Sarvajna Pitha there. In the original manuscripts, the 2nd stanza is not at all found, and it seems to be a spurious and unaccountable addition in the printed edition.

What does the reading in the printed Malayalam edition indicate? It shows that Sankara (after visiting Rameswaram and other places in Southern India) again came to Kanchi and there —— 'adorning the celebrated-

On the birth of that Brahman's son (Sankara) the Yoga was such that he was destined to be Sarvajna (all knowing)."

country of Kashmir by his lustre in the Bharata Mandala which was enhancing the beauty of Jumbudvipa, he wanted to ascend the Sarvajna Pitha in that sacred city presided over by the Goddess Kamakshi.' Where is Kanchi and where is Kashmir? What has Kanchi to do with Kashmir? What has Kashmir to do with the city of the Goddess Kamkashi? One is entirely at a loss to understand why Bharata Mandala and Jambudvipa are introduced here. And what is the construction of this 2nd verse? There is no further mention of Kashmir, and one cannot understand how Sankara went from the southern-most corner of India to the northern-most corner of that great continent, if he really wanted to ascend the Sarvajna-Pitha at Kashmir, which event is unmistakably assigned to Abhinava Sankara by Sri Vakpati Bhatta of Kashmir in his Sankarendra Vilasa, a poem in six Cantos (compare-Canto V. verses 1—35).

It is an ugly trick and an unsuccessful attempt to fabricate. The author according to this edition does not leave Sankara at Kashmir, but he at once makes him to go back to his native place Vrishachala in Malabar near Kalati, his birth place, and there after making him pray to God Vishnu, allows him to exit from the world. Although it shows that the author, or rather the editor who had introduced this portion of the story with regard to the last days of Sankara's life, was a patriot of his own native place, the remaining portion of the printed book itself, and the original manuscripts and quotations made from the said work by Atmabodhendra in his commentary on Guru-ratnamalika more than 200 years ago, and published about 30 years ago, do not in any way support this portion of

This description of the date of the birth of Sankara will be seen to tally exactly with that given in the earlier Sankara

the story. A mere perusal of this portion of the book will show how flat the verses are, and how absurd and incoherent they are. The tenth and last Adhyaya in which the author summarizes the life of Sankara in the form of an Ashtaka, clearly falsifies the story that Sankara ascended the Sarvajna-Pitha at Kashmir, and died at Vrishachala in Malabar, as attempted to be suggested in the previous Adhyaya. We shall only quote the last stanza of the Ashtaka and leave our readers to judge the matter for themselves :

स्नात्वाऽऽचम्य च रामनाथं, अथ तत् काञ्चीपुरं प्राप्तवान्,
जित्वा तत्र सरस्वतीं सर्वज्ञपीठं मुदा ।
आरुह्याऽथ वृषद्रिनायक मितो, युक्त: स्वशिष्यै स्तत:
सायुज्यं गतवान् कृताच्युतनुति: श्रीशङ्कर: पातु न: ।। ८ ।।

The original manuscripts read in place of "वृषाद्रि-नायक मितो" of the Malayalam edition, "गजाद्रिनायक मितो" meaning by the expression "गजाद्रिनायक" the Lord of the Hasti-Saila or Varadaraja, the name of the God Narayana at Vishnu Kanchi or Little Conjeevaram.

The editor not content with the Ashtaka which generally goes under the name of Acharyashtaka (आचार्याष्टकम्) adds a few more verses, paraphrasing what has been already stated, although they are not found in the manuscript copies. The 9th verse of this Stotra may be quoted as an instance :—

"जात: केरलभूतले, यतिवरो भूत्वाऽऽशु, भाष्याण्यथो ।
कृत्वा पञ्चदशाऽऽश्रमेण चतुरो, लब्ध्वा च शिष्यान् वरान्।।

Vijayas with regard to the month, the constellation and the year under which he is said to have been born; though,

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श्रीकाञ्चीपुर मेत्य तत्र जितवान् वाणीञ्च, सर्वज्ञताम् ।
गत्वा प्राप्तवृषाचले मृतिगत:, श्रीशङ्कर: पातु न: ॥"

In both these verses the fact that Sankara ascended the Sarvajna-Pitha at Kanchi is clearly stated, though the editor by cleverly changing the expression गजाद्रि into वृषाद्रि and गजाचल into वृषाचल intends and evidently wants the readers to believe that Sankara died at Vrishachala instead of at Kanchi where he actually died according to the version of the manuscript copy which is supported by the quotations already made from the work and published more than 30 years ago.

The following is the version of the manuscript copy in our possession :—

"इति निश्चित्य मनसा शीमान् शङ्करदेशिक: ।
मठे श्रीशारदाभिख्ये सर्वज्ञं निदधन्मुनिम् ॥

सुरेश्वरं वृत्तिकृत मन्तिकस्थं सदाऽऽदरात् ।
समं संस्थाप्य तस्मै स्वं वक्तुं भाष्यं समन्वशात् ॥

सशिष्य पारम्पर्येण लिङ्गं स्वं योगनामकम् ।
सेवयैनं कामकोटिपीठे सार्धं वसेति च ॥

इत्याज्ञा सम्प्रदायाऽस्मै त्यक्तपीठमठस्पृह: ।
कामाक्ष्या निकटे जातु सन्निविश्य जगद्गुरु: ॥

देहिभि र्दुर्भजं देहं तत्रैव सन्त्यजन् ।
अखण्डज्योति रानन्द मक्षरं परमं पदम् ॥

स एव शङ्कराचार्यो चैतन्य मिव तत्रैव तिष्टति ॥"

no doubt, it does not, give the year of his birth in one of the various known Eras, such as Kali Yuga, Yudhishthira Saka etc. Further, it does not say under which Lagna he was born, though it sufficiently indicates, that Sankara was born under a very auspicious Lagna aspected by beneficent planets which were very powerful and in their exalation. Perhaps, it is this suggestion that has been followed by Chidvilasa when he says that five planets were in exaltation at the time when Sankara was born.

The next Sankara Vijaya, going back from our own times, is that of Vyasachala already quoted at length. This work is noticed by Rev. William Tailor in his Catalogue of Sanscrit Manuscripts published in 1860; and it is interesting to note that none of the Sankara Vijayas ascribed to Sadananda, Madhava and Chidvilasa are noticed by the Rev. William Tailor in his extremely useful Catalogue of

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This version of the story is further corroborated by Brihat Sankara Vijaya, Prachina Sankara Vijaya, Vyasachaliya Sankara Vijaya, and Anantanandagiri's Sankara Vijaya, besides the Punyasloka Manjari, Jagadguru-Ratnamala and Jagadguru-Kathasangraha, all of which fix the place of Adi Sankara's death at Kanchi.

This absurd trick has been carried by the publisher of this Keraliya Sankara Vijaya even into the contents of the book. In describing this so-called Sankara's trip to Kashmir the publisher gives :—

"काञ्ची-काश्मीर-यात्रा"

which, on the face of it, shows the absurdity of the theory attempted to be established by the publisher.

Sanskrit Manuscripts—and the only possible inference is that these works were not in existence in 1860, when the Catalogue was published. In fact, we have not been able to notice any of these Sankara Vijayas in any of the Catalogues of Sanskrit Manuscripts, published before 1860.

This date is further corroborated by the Sankara Vijaya of Anandagiri, the famous annotator of Sankara's Bhashyas, which has come down to us under the name of Prachina Sankara Vijaya. In the first place after describing the various would-be* disciples and contemporaries of Sankara, and showing them each to be an incarnation of a particular Deva or Deity in the middle of the second Sarga, and after giving a detailed account of Kumarila Bhatta, the great advocate of the Karmakanda of the Vedas in the latter part of the said Sarga, and after giving an interesting and charming account of Kerala Desa and of Kalati and its surroundings in the beginning of the 2rd Sarga, and after narrating the early life of Sivaguru and Aryamba, and the boons conferred on that pious couple by God Siva Himself, and the consequent pregnancy of Aryamba and its special and wonderful nature, the work proceeds as follows :—

ईशोऽप्यभूत् समदविद्विदभेद्यदर्प-
सर्पाहितुण्डिक विदग्ध सहस्र सेव्ये ।
विद्याधिपत्यपरनाम्नि कुले शिवाख्यात्
आर्यापते रविसहस्र रुचिः कुमारः ॥ ८५ ॥

तिष्ये प्रयात्यनल-शेवधि-बाण-नेत्रे
यो नन्दने दिनमणा वुदग्धवभाजि ।

* Compare the verses already quoted from the second Canto of Prachina Sankara Vijaya.

राधेऽदिते रुडुनि निर्गत * मङ्गलग्ने
ऽप्याहूतवान् शिवगुरुः स च शङ्करेति ॥ ८६ ॥

'God Siva Himself was born as son to Aryamba, the wife Sivaguru of the family of Vidhyadhipati, in that wonderful country (K e r a l a) where thousands of Pandits live like snake-charmers able to put down the poison of pride in the arrogant serpent-like scholars, with his splendour transcending the lustre of one thousand Suns, Him, the father Sivaguru called Sankara, who was born in the fourth (Karkata) L a g n a under the constellation of

* This is the reading of the copy of the manuscript in our possession. We have interpreted the expression अङ्गलग्न (Anga-Lagna) to mean the fourth or the Karkata-Lagna, or Anga (अङ्ग) in the technical language means four as representating the four angas known as Ratha, Gaja, Turaga and Padati. The reading of this passage as quoted by Atmabodhendra in his commentary on Guru Ratnamalika is 'अस्त्रलग्ने' in place of 'अङ्गलग्ने' implying that Sankara was born in the Lagna called अस्त्र (Missile) or more plainly Dhanur-Lagna. This idea that Sankara was born in Dhanur-Lagna is entirely foreign to all other Sankara Vijayas which place his birth in the mid-day (मध्याह्न) and not in the night, which must be the case if Sankara was born under Dhanur-Lagna in the month of Vaisakha (Mesha). The quotation of this passage as given in the compilation known as Srimat Sankara Bhagavatpada Charitram published in Telugu character in the year Hevilambi by the Kala Ratnakaram Press at Madras has 'असूलग्ने' which is evidently a misreading for अङ्गलग्ने or अस्त्रलग्ने as the case may be.

Punarvasu, in the month of Vaisakha (corresponding to the solar month Mesha), when the Sun was on his northern path (Uttarayana) in the year Nandana on the lapse of 2593 years after the commencement of the Kali Yuga.'

Evidently the Kumbhakonam Mutt has been misled by a clearly wrong reading of this passage as given in Atmabodhendra's Sushama —— "अस्त्रलग्ने" in place of "अङ्गलग्ने"— and while it accepts our account of the particulars of the time of the birth of Sankara in all its details, it has wrongly assumed Sankara to have been born under Dhanur-Lagna (IX or Sagittarius), for our learned lecturer in the Government College at Kumbhakonam Mr. N. K. Venkatesa Iyer, M. A., in his 'Sri Sankaracharya and his Kamakoti Pitha' recently published under the auspices of the Kumbhakonam Mutt, has after quoting a number of prophecies and forecasts about the birth of Adi Sankara in Siva Rahasya*, Linga

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* मदंशजातं देवेशि! कलावपि तपोधनम् ।
केरळेषु तदा विप्रं जनयामि महेश्वरि ।। ७ ।।
तस्यैव चरितं तेऽद्य वक्ष्यामि शृणु शैलजे ।
कल्यादिमे महादेवि सहस्रद्वितयात् परम् ।। ८ ।।
सारस्वता स्तथा गौडा: मिश्रा: कर्णाजिना द्विजा: ।
आममीनाशना देवि! आर्यावर्तानुवासिन: ।। ९ ।।

... ...

कर्मैव परमं श्रेयो नैवेश: फलदायक: ।
इति युक्तिपरामृष्टवाक्यैरुत्बोधयन्ति च ।। १३ ।।

Purana†, Kurma Purana ††, Vayu Purana $, Bhavishyottara-

तेन घोरकुलाचारा कर्मसारा भवन्ति च ।
तेषा मुद्धाटनार्थाय सृजामीशे मदंशतः ॥ १४ ॥

केरळे शललग्रामे विप्रपत्न्यां मदंशतः ।
भविष्यति महादेवि शंकराख्यो द्विजोत्तमः ॥ १५ ॥

(Vide Siva Rahasya, Amsa IX Ch. XVI. St. 7 to 15)

† "निन्दन्ति वेदविद्यां च द्विजाः कर्माणि वै कलौ ।
कलौ रुद्रो महादेवः शंकरो नीललोहितः ॥ २० ॥

प्रकाशते प्रतिष्टार्थं धर्मस्य विकृताकृतिः ।
ये तं विप्रा निषेवन्ते येन केनाऽपि शंकरम् ॥ २१ ॥

कलिदोषान् विनिर्जित्य प्रयान्ति परमं पदम् ॥"

(Vide Linga-Purana, Chapter 40, St. 20–22)

†† "कलौ रुद्रो महादेवो लोकाना मीश्वरः परः ।
स देवता भवे न्नृणां देवतानाञ्च दैवतम् ॥ ३१ ॥

करिष्य त्यवतारं स्वं शंकरो नीललोहितः ।
श्रौतस्मार्तप्रतिष्टार्थं भक्तानां हितकाम्यया ॥ ३२ ॥

उपदेक्ष्यति तद् ज्ञानं शिष्याणां ब्रह्मसंज्ञितम् ।
सर्ववेदान्त सारं हि सर्वस्मा च्च तु दर्शनात् ॥ ३३ ॥

ये तं विप्रा निषेवन्ते येन केनाऽप्युपायतः ।
विजित्य कर्मजान् दोषान् यान्ति ते परमं पदम् ॥ ३४ ॥

(Vide Kurma-Purana, Chapter 27, St. 31–34)

$ "चतुर्भिः शिष्यैस्तु शङ्करोऽवतरिष्यति ।"

(Vide Vayu–Purana)

***N.B.*—We have not been able to verify this quotation from any of the editions of the Vayu Purana.**

Purana* and Markandeya Samhita,† summarised his conclusion as follows: "In accordance with these forebodings and amidst such circumstances and with such determination, in the self-same hallowed village of Kalati, which has but recently been made public to the world by the establishment of a Temple of Sri Sankaracharya at the place, in the Kerala country, as was granted in the boon of Sadasiva to Brahma, the Great Guru, Sri Sankaracharya, as the beloved babe of the devoted Brahman Sivaguru and his devoted wife Aryamba, was born in the year of Kali 2593, in the cyclic year Nandana, in the month of Vaisakha, under the constellation Punarvasu—also the constellation under which the other Great Lord of the Trinity, Mahavishnu had

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|| "कल्यब्दौ द्विसहस्रान्ते लोकानुग्रहकाम्यया ।
चतुर्भिः सह शिष्यैस्तु शङ्करोऽवतरिष्यति ॥"

(Vide Bhavishyottara Purana, Chapter 36)

† "लोकानुग्रहतत्परः परशिवः सम्प्रार्थितो ब्रह्मणा
चार्वाकादिकमत प्रभेदनिपुणां बुद्धिं सदा धारयन् ।
कालटचाख्यपुरोत्तमे शिवगुरु विद्याधिनाथश्च यः
तत्पत्न्यां शिवतारके समुदितः श्रीशङ्कराख्यां वहन् ॥१॥

... ...

काञ्च्यां श्रीकामकोटिं कलिमलशमनीं कल्पयित्वा सुरेशे
श्रीविद्याराजपीठार्चनमहितमहाराज्यसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मीम् ।
संवेश्याऽऽत्मीयशिष्ये सकलभुवन सम्मोदहेतो र्महात्मा
चिद्रूपस्वानुभूतिं भजति भवमहाम्भोधि सन्तारणाय ॥"

(Vide Markandeya Samhita, 22nd Khand Parispanda VII, St. 1–8).

incarnated himself in the world in the Tretayuga as Sri Rama chandra, for the suppression of evil in Ravana and his kin, and for the establishment of Dharma or Eternal Life *i.e.* life according to eternal or unchanging laws, in the bright half of the month, on the 5th day of the fortnight, *with the moon in the House of the Archer,* when the planets Surya, Kuja, Sani (the son of Surya,) and Guru were in Kendra."

In the passage above quoted, the italics only are ours and we have no doubt, that the expression under italics had been introduced into the above passage by the learned lecturer, relying on the reading 'अस्त्रलग्ने' in Anandagiri's Prachina Sankara Vijaya above referred to. The concluding portion of the passage "when the planets Surya, Kuja, Sani (son of Surya) and Guru were in Kendra" is evidently based upon the stanza 'लग्ने शुभे शुभयुते' etc., already quoted from the Vyasachaliya and Madhaviya Sankara Vijayas and examined in detail; but the learned scholar is not quite correct in interpreting the passage as meaning that the planets Sun, Mars, Saturn and Jupiter were only in Kendra at the time of the birth of Sankara; for the stanza according to any interpretation, expresses that these planets were also in their exaltation, whether all of them were also in Kendra or not. We fully agree with Pichchu Aiyar and Dr. Swamikannu Pillai, in interpreting the stanza as meaning that these planets were both in their exaltation as well as in kendra. The learned writer himself quotes this stanza as an authority for his position although he does not mention the source from which he quotes it. This point is made still clear by the following passage which he quotes:

"कालटचाख्ये ग्रामवर्ये केरळालङ्कृतीकृते ।
विद्याधिराजनामा यः प्राज्ञः शिवगुरु र्बभौ ॥

व्यजायत शुभे काले पञ्चोच्चग्रहसंयुते ।
आनन्दाद्बान्धवाः सर्वे पुष्पवर्षं दिविच्युतेः ॥"

The author does not state from what work he has taken this garbled and mutilated version of the passage; and from the invariably wrong version of the other passages which he has quoted (without quoting chapter and verse) as foretelling the birth of Sankara, it is clear that he has merely copied all these passages from the Telegu edition of the compilation known as Srimat Sankara Bhagavatpada Charitram already noticed by us. There, this passage is stated to be taken from the 2nd Prakarana of Anandagiri's Sankara Vijaya which is divided into Sargas and not into Prakaranas; and further Anandagiri's Sankara Vijaya is uniformly known under the name of Prachina Sankara Vijaya; and the passage from Prachina Sankara Vijaya which we are now actually considering, is seperately quoted in the said work. A comparison of this passage with the passage which we are presently going to quote in detail from Chitsukhacharya's Brihat Sankara Vijaya, will clearly show that this is a mutilated version of that given by Chitsukhacharya in the 32nd Prakarana of Sankaracharya Satpatha of his Brihat Sankara Vijaya. A proper uderstanding of this passage will show beyond all possible doubt that the planets Surya, Kuja, Sani and Guru were both in Kendra and in their exaltation. In that case, if Sankara was born under Dhanur Lagna, then besides failing to get the above mentioned position of the planets in question, we shall be reduced to the absurdity of placing Sankara's birth in Krishna Paksha Tritiya or Chaturthi, instead of placing it, as is uniformly done by all authorities, including the learned lecturer, in Vaisakha Sukla Panchami.

We shall now pass on to a stiil more ancient authority, the Sankara Vijaya of Chitsukhacharya, known as Brihat Sankara Vijaya which makes the matter perfectly clear. It is said to be written during or immediately after the time of Sankara, by Chitsukha, one of his own direct disciples and co-students. who filled the responsible position of the 2nd Acharya of the Saradapitha of the Dwaraka Matha, and who was older than Sankara by 5 years. As we have already stated, his work is divided into* 3 parts and into 224 Prakaranas.

*The first part known as Paramacharya Satpatha consists of 30 Prakaranas, including the Upodghata Prakarana and it gives a brief account of the origin of the work, and of the lives and doings of the predecessors of Sankara from Narayana downwards to Gaudapada and Govinda Bhagavatpada, the Paramacharya and Acharya of Sankara. Prakaranas 31 to 200 are known as Sankaracharya Satpatha and it gives a full and clear account of the life of Adi Sankara including the various works written by him from time to time. The last 24 Prakaranas are known as Sureswaracharya Satpatha, and it deals with the life and works of Sureswara. The whole book is written in a simple style in the form of a dialogue between Chitsukha himself and one of his disciples who succeeded him in the Dwaraka Matha, as the 3rd Acharya under the name of Sri Sarvajnanacharya and who reigned in the Matha until Sravana Sukla Ekadasi of the year 2774 of Yudhishthira Saka, corresponding to 2737 of the Kali Yuga or 365 B.C. A comparison of this work with Chidvilasa's Sankara Vijaya Vilasa, will disclose that the latter work has been mainly modelled and copied from the former, with such omissions and additions as the exigencies of the Sringeri Mutt required under its later Acharyas.

In the 32nd Prakarana of the said work, in the 2nd Prakarana of Sankaracharya Satpatha of the Brihat Sankara Vijaya, Chitsukhacharya gives the following description of the birth of Sankara, and as the passage is important for purposes of comparison we have chosen to give the whole of the Prakarana, especially as the book is still in manuscripts and has not seen the light of the day as yet, except in the form of some garbled quotations here and there. The following is the full text of the Prakarana as is found in the copy of the manuscript in our possession :—

कालटयाख्ये ग्रामवर्ये केरळालङ्कृतीकृते ।
विद्याधिराज तनयः प्राज्ञः शिवगुरु र्बभौ ।। १ ।।

तदा सदाशिवः शम्भु र्लोकानुग्रहतत्परः ।
आर्याम्बिकामितु स्तस्य भक्ति वैराग्यशालिनः ।। २ ।।

सुतार्थं तप्यमानस्य पत्न्या सार्ध महर्निशिम् ।
मनोरथं पूरयितु मियेष करुणानिधिः ।। ३ ।।

ततो महिम्ना तत्पत्न्यां प्रविवेश स्वतेजसा ।
सा दधार सती गर्भ मादित्यसमतेजसम् ।। ४ ।।

निधानगर्भा धात्रीव, शमि वाऽन्तर्हितानला ।
व्यजायत तदाऽऽर्याम्बा शिवैकायत्तचेतना ।। ५ ।।

दृष्ट्वा शिवगुरु र्यज्वा भार्या मार्याञ्च गर्भिताम् ।
बृषाचलेशं सततं स्मर न्नेकाग्रचेतसा ।। ६ ।।

दयालुतां स्तुवन् शम्भो र्दीनेष्वपि महत्स्वपि ।
ववृधे स पयोराशिः पूर्णेन्दो रिव दर्शनात् ।। ७ ।।

व्यजायत शुभः कालः पञ्चोच्चग्रहसंयुतः ।
कल्हारकलिकागन्धबन्धुरो मरु दाववौ ।। ८ ।।

दिशः प्रकाशिताकाशा बभूवुः सूर्यरश्मिभिः ।
प्रायः प्रदक्षिणज्वाला जज्वलु यंज्ञपावकाः ।। ९ ।।

ननन्दु बन्धिवाः सर्वे, ननृतुश्चाऽप्सरोगणाः ।
ससृजुः पुष्पवर्षाणि देवा भुव्यन्तरिक्षगाः ।। १० ।।

आसी त्तदा दिव्यगानं स्वर्गलोके चिरं सुखम् ।
प्रसन्न मभव च्चित्तं सतां प्रतपता मपि ।। ११ ।।

ततः सा दशमे मासे संपूर्णशुभलक्षणे ।
षड्विंशे शतके श्रीमद्युधिष्ठरशकस्य वै ।। १२ ।।

एकत्रिंशेऽथ वर्षे तु हायने नन्दने शुभे ।
मेषराशि गते सूर्ये वैशाखे मासि शोभने ।। १३ ।।

शुक्लपक्षे च पञ्चम्यां तिथ्यां, भास्करवासरे ।
पुनर्वसुगते चन्द्रे, लग्ने कर्कटाह्वये ।। १४ ।।

मध्याह्नेचाऽभिजिन्नाममुहुर्ते शुभवीक्षिते ।
स्वोच्चस्थे केन्द्रस्थे च गुरौ मन्दे कुजे रवौ ।। १५ ।।

निजतुङ्गगते शुक्रे, रविणा सङ्गते बुधे ।
प्रासूत तनयं साध्वी गिरिजेव षडाननम् ।। १६ ।।

उदयाचलवेलेव भानुमन्तं महौजसम् ।
दुर्निरीक्ष्यैः स्वतेजोभि र्भासयन्तं दिशोदश ।। १७ ।।

बालत्वेऽपि विशालाक्ष मतिविस्तृत वक्षसम् ।
आजानुलम्बित भुजं, सुविशाल निटालकम् ।। १८ ।।

आरक्तोपान्तनयन विनिन्दित सरोरुहम् ।
मुखकान्ति पराभूतराकाहिमकराकृतिम् ।। १९ ।।

शङ्खचक्रध्वजाकाररेखाचिह्नपदाम्बुजम् ।
द्वात्रिंशल्लक्षणोपेतं, विद्युदाभकलेबरम् ।। २० ।।

प्रमोदं दृष्टमात्रेण दिशन्तं तं स्तनन्धयम् ।
पायं पायं दृशा प्रेम्णा श्रीकृष्णमिव देवकी ॥ २१ ॥

प्रपेदे न क्षणं तृप्ति चकोरीव सुधाकरम् ।
तादृशं बालकं दृष्ट्वा सा बभूवऽतिविस्मिता ॥ २२ ॥

स चाऽद्भुतः किशोरोऽपि किञ्चिद्विचलिताधरः ।
ताडयन् चरणौ हस्तौ रुरोद मधुरस्वनम् ॥ २३ ॥

तत्रत्या वृद्धनार्योऽपि यथोचित मथाऽऽचरन् ।
बालकं मेनिरे प्रोद्यदिन्दुबिम्ब मिवोज्वलम् ॥ २४ ॥

ततः श्रुत्वा पिता सोऽपि निधिं प्राप्यते निर्धनः ।
मुमुदे नितरां चित्ते वित्तेशं नाऽभ्यलक्ष्यत ॥ २५ ॥

स्नात्वा शिवगुरु स्तूर्णं यज्वनां मग्रणी स्ततः ।
विप्रा नाकारयामास पुरन्ध्री रपि सर्वत ॥ २६ ॥

तदोत्सवे महा नासीत् पुरे सद्मनि सन्ततम् ।
धान्यराशीन् मखिभ्योऽसौ विद्भ्यो भूयः प्रदत्तवान्॥२७॥

धनानि भूरि विप्रेभ्यो वेदविद्भ्यो दिदेश सः ।
वासांसि भूयो दिव्यानि सफलानि प्रदत्तवान् ॥ २८ ॥

पुरन्ध्रीणाञ्च नीरन्ध्रं वस्तुजात मदा दसौ ।
घटोध्नी र्बहुशो गाश्च सालङ्काराः सदक्षिणाः ॥ २९ ॥

ततः शिवगुरु र्यज्वा ब्राह्मणान् पूर्वतोऽधिकम् ।
सन्तर्प्य बन्धुभिः सार्धं मुदितो न्यवसत् सुधीः ॥ ३० ॥

सर्वज्ञानः—

श्रीचित्सुखेन्द्र! गुरुराज समुद्भवोद्य-
द्वृत्तं निशम्यां नितरां हृषितं मनो मे ।
अग्रे य दद्य वद तच्चिरितं क्रमेण
भूयो नतोऽस्मि गुरवे भवतापहर्त्रे ॥ ३१ ॥

श्रीचित्सुखः—

सर्वज्ञान सुधीमणे! सकृदिमं यो वा शृणो त्यादरात्
श्रीमच्छङ्करदेशिकेन्द्र चरणाविर्भाव मत्यद्भुतम् ।
सोऽप्यद्धा! भविताभिधाविगळित स्त्वैक्यं च जीवेशयोः
जीवन्मुक्त इवाऽऽचर न्नतितरां निश्रेयासायेहते ॥३२॥

श्रीमत्परमहंस - परिव्राजकाचार्यवर्य-श्रीमच्छङ्करभगवत्पाद
पाथोज मरन्द निष्यन्दास्वाद तुन्दिलानन्द मिलिन्दाय-
मान मानस श्रीचित्सुखयतीन्द्र सर्वज्ञात तपोधनेन्द्र-
संवादे, श्रीबृहच्छङ्करविजये शङ्कराचार्यसत्पथे
श्रीशङ्करप्रादुर्भावाख्यं द्वात्रिंशं प्रकरणं समाप्तम् ।

(1) 'In that celebrated Brahman village called Kalati,* which was then considered to be an ornament to the country of Kerala itself, Sivaguru, the son of Vidyadhiraja, became

* An obscure village named Kalati, six miles to the east of Alwaye, now a station on the Cochin-Shoranur railway line, is traditionally mentioned as the place of nativity of Adi Sankara. *Pazurpanai Illam* in the neighbourhood of Trichur, has been in all Kerala understood to be the family to which Sankara's mother Aryamba, belonged and her cremation ground thereabout is still shown to the enquirer as a place of interest. Kerala is a land of idyllic beauty. Nestled amidst jack, coco and areca-palms, bounded by the purling Poorna (otherwise known as Chūrni—கள்ளியம் பேரியாறு), where the crocodile caught the legs of the boy Sankara, which culminated in his pursuit to become an ascetic, Kalati in every way is a hallowed spot. The specified place where he took his birth is now crowned with a shrine dedicated to him. The image of Sri Krishna adored by Sankara's mother is ensconced in a nearby shrine. The place

well known throughout, as the most pious and learned among the people.

(2-3) 'Then the blessed Sadasiva, the Great Lord, ever bent on doing good to the world, desired out of His own Infinite Mercy to fulfil the wishes of Sivaguru, the devoted husband of Aryamba, filled with Bhakti and Vairagya, and praying to Him, day and night, with his noble wife, for the sake of obtaining a worthy son.

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where Sankara conferred his benediction to a poor lady by singing his 'Kanakadhara stotra' still continues to bear the name '*swarnathu manaikal*' (ஸ்வர்ணத்து மனைகள்) owned by a Nambudiri, who claims to be a lineal descendant of the lady. A Siva and a Durga shrine in the vicinity where Sankara's father Sivaguru worshipped can be seen even to-day. It is said that here the '*Dravida Sisu*' (The Tamil Child) was fed with the breast-milk of Parvati Devi, when he cried of hunger, (तव स्तन्यं मन्ये धरणिधर कन्ये हृदयत... दयावत्य: दत्तं द्रविडशिशुरास्वाद्य etc.) though some scholars wrongly attribute this to Tirujnana Sambandhar. The present temples dedicated to the Acharya and Goddess Sarada were built in the beginning of this century two thousand years after the World-Teacher left us. The style of these shrines are not in the usual Kerala model of architecture. The *Vimana* of the Sarada shrine is in the *ashta padma* (eight-angled) motif, while that of the Sankara shrine is in the *shodasa kona* (sixteen faceted) form. A raised platform and a tapering terrace-shaped dome lend both elegance and grandeur to the structures. In 1910, the consecration of these shrines was performed by Sri Nrisimha Bharati, the Sankaracharya of Sringeri Mutt. Another small shrine is also connected with the name of Sankara. It was

(4) 'Then the Great God mysteriously entered into the womb of Sivaguru's wife with His own self-shining lustre, and that chaste lady conceived in her womb a son as brilliant as the sun himself.

(5) 'Then, like the Mother Earth bearing the precious treasures in her bowels, like the Sami tree containing the sacred fire within its interior, Aryamba with that blessed child in her womb, became entirely devoted to Siva.

(6-7) 'On seeing his wife Aryamba pregnant with child, Sivaguru the best of sacrificers, always remembering in his heart the Lord of Vrihsachala for having blessed him with a child and praising the Gread God for the great compassion shown by Him to the humble as well as to the exalted, became elated with joy like the milk-ocean at the sight of the full moon.

(8-11) 'Then there came a highly delightful season fraught with all blessings when five of the planets were in their ascendancy. A pure and pleasant breeze blew bearing the sweet odour of the flowers of the white water-lilies. The cardinal quarters were all propitious and clear with the enchanting rays of the sun. The sacrificial fires

at this place, while the priest was chanting the *rudram* 'Nama Sankaraya' that Sankara was born and was given the name accordingly. *Velliman tull* (வெள்ளிமான் துள்), deriving its name from a white-stag, which pointed a Siva linga lying hidden, is nearby; when Aryambal became to weak to go to Tiru Siva Periyur (திருச் சிவப்பெரியூர்) meaning Trichur, she was asked to worship the *linga* which the stag would point out. Kalati stands in its own glory as the cradle of Advaita and its dust is sacred, because the great Sankara walked there.—ED.

flashed forth rising up and going round from right to left. All the relations of the family became enraptured and contended. The fan-shaped celestial damsels danced out of joy. The Divine messengers (Devas) greatly delighted and standing in the midst of the sky, showered heaps of flowers on the face of the earth. Then there was celestial music going on in the world of Gods pleasantly and for a long time. The mind of all good persons, though otherwise afflicted with sorrow became serene and composed.

(12-17) 'Then, in the tenth month of her pregnancy which was fraught with all auspicious signs, in the year 2631 of the Yudhishthira Saka, in the auspicious year Nandana, on Sunday the 5th day of the bright half of the auspicious month of Vaisakha when the Sun was in Aries (Mesha), when the Moon had advanced to the constellation of Punarvasu, in the Lagna (ascending sign) known as Karkata (Cancer, the fourth sign of the zodiac) just at mid-day in the Muhurta (moment of time) known as Abhijit, with the ascending sign aspected by auspicious planets, when Jupiter (Guru) Saturn (Sani), Mars (Kuja) and Sun (Ravi) were in Kendra as well as in their exaltation, when Venus (Sukra) was in his ascent and when the auspicious planet Mercury (Budha) was with the Sun, that chaste lady Aryamba gave birth to a son, who was like Shanmukha (the six-faced God Subrahmanya) born unto Parvati, and who shone forth resplendent as the Sun rising out of the eastern shore, illuminating all the ten quarters of heaven with his incomparable rays.

(18) 'Even as a child, the new-born babe had large eyes and a very broad chest; his forehead too was very broad, and his arms were majestically long, reaching as far as his knees.

(19) ' His graceful and attractive eyes with their slightly reddish corners surpassed in beauty the blooming lotus-flowers with their filaments of a charmingly reddish hue. The lustre of the newly rising full moon was put to shade by the splendour of his fascinating face.

(20) ' His lotus-like feet bore the auspicious lines marked with conch, discus and banner; he had all the thirty-two auspicious marks of a Mahapurusha.

(21–22) ' That chaste lady (Aryamba) gazed with affection at the new-born suckling, who delighted the hearts of all persons that cast their glances at him; and like Devaki at the sight of the newly-born babe Sri Krishna, she did not obtain satiety at all in drinking him with her enraptured eyes even as the chakori bird who does not feel satiety in feeding on the beams of the lovely moon: beholding that wonderful child Aryamba bloomed forth in wonder.

(23) ' Even that wonderful babe moved his lovely lips a little and began to cry out with a most pleasing voice kicking his tender and graceful hands and feet against the ground.

(24) ' The elderly women of that place then duly performed the rites and ceremonies which were usually gone through at the birth of a child. In their ecstasy, they were wondering if the new-born babe was indeed a manifestation of the full-blown moon just rising on the eastern quarter of heaven.

(25) ' Then Sivaguru, the father of that wonderful child, having heard of his miraculous birth, became highly delighted in his heart, even like a poorman on suddenly obtaining a most valuable treasure hidden in the ground; and he became so enraptured at the sight of his son, that he surpassed then the Lord of Wealth in his liberality and munificince.

(26) 'The noble-hearted Sivaguru, the foremost of sacrificers, having soon purified himself with a bath, invited all the learned Brahmans and elderly matrons of the place and made them pronounce benedictions on his new-born son.

(27) 'The household of Sivaguru, and in fact the whole village went into a great festivity which continued uninterrupted throughout all day and night. He gave heaps of grain and paddy unto all the learned men of the village and unto those engaged in performing sacrifices.

(28) 'He distributed amongst the Brahmans versed in Vedas hordes of coins and heaps of clothes along with gems and fruits.

(29) 'He gave to the elderly matrons of the village gold-dusts and other valuable articles with cows full of milk and adorned with suitable ornaments and precious gifts.

(30) 'Having thus pleased all the Brahmanas by valuable presents and sumptuous meals, even more than what he was wont to do before, Sivaguru Dikshita, the foremost amongst the intelligent, dwelt happily in his house in the company of all his relations and well-wishers.

(31) 'Then Sarvajnâna said :—O, thou blessed Chitsukhacharya, the foremost of the teachers, I have now heard with rapt attention the marvellous account of the miraculous nativity of the Prince of Gurus (Sankara), and my heart is now filled with great delight. I intently long to listen from your sacred mouth to a recital of the rest of the wonderful life of that most glorious teacher of the world in a regular order of succession. Please have the kindness to narrate the wonderful life-story of Sankara to me who humbly offer my respectful prostrations unto you, my revered Guru who alone can remove the burning evils of this miserable life.

(32) 'Then Chitsukha said:—O my dear Sarvajnana, the foremost of intelligent men, whoever, attentively and with regard, listens even once to this wonderful account of the miraculous incarnation of the most holy and revered Sankara, the best of Acharyas, I assure you that he will certainly attain the summum bonum of his life, realizing, as he does, the substantial unity of the individual soul with the Lord of the Universe, living the life of a Jivanmukta or liberated soul so long as he likes and move in this phenomenal world, by slowly casting off all distinctions of duality and separateness.'

Thus ends the thirty-second Prakarana (section) entitled 'The Account of the Incarnation of the revered Sankara Bhagavatpada; in the part of the book known as Sankaracharya Satpatha of Sri Brihat Sankara Vijaya, written in the form of a dialogue between Sarvajnana Tapodhana and Sri Chitsukhacharya whose heart was like that of the blessed bee delighted with profusion of joy by tasting the sweet juice of the honey flowing from the lotus-like feet of the most revered Sri Sankara Bhagavatpada, the best amongst the teachers of the Parivrajaka class, belonging to the Holy Order of Sanyasins known as Paramahamsas.

Such is the simple account of the birth of Sankara as narrated by Chitsukhacharya in his biography of Sri Sankaracharya known as Brihat Sankara Vijaya. The life history of the Great Guru as depicted by him is throughout natural and unexaggerated, and clearly bears the unmistakable impress of an eye-witness and a contemperary writer. Chitsukha has, indeed, the highest regard for Sankara, his co-student, and even considers him, as a manifestation of a Mahapurusha and even as a ray of the Great God Himself who pervades and illumines the

Universe with His own incomparable, glorious, self-shining and spiritual light, and yet he dealt with him only as a man. Though the most intelligent of them all, He certainly does not go to the length of deifying him and his disciples and contemporaries as various incarnations of gods, nor does he colour his life with supernatural incidents and divine interferences, with which later Sankara Vijayas, including that of Anandagiri, are replete. A mere comparison of chapter V of Sankara Vijaya Vilasa, published by V. Ramaswamy Sastri, with the 32nd Prakarana of Chitsukha's work above quoted, will be quite sufficient to convince any reasonable man of the way in which the former book had been manipulated and brought into existence from the latter work and of the nature of the additions that have been made into it, with a view to pander to the taste and vanity of some of the later Acharyas of the Sringeri Mutt, by the so-called Chidvilasa—most probably a fictitious name invented by the real compiler in imitation of the name of Chitsukha–the supposed author of the work and about whom nothing whatsoever is known which can enable us to identlfy him with any of the Acharyas or successors of Sankara, in any of the five Advaltic Mutts established by him.

The incidents of the Gods including Brahmadeva going to Mount Kailasa and praying to God Sadasiva for giving a quietus to the warring faiths and creeds in Bharata varsha, His solemn promise to the Gods that He would be born as Sri Sankaracharya on the earth to put down the wicked creeds and teachings prevalent among men, His graceful presence before the pious couple, Aryamba and Sivaguru, asking them to choose between one short-lived omniscient son and one hundred-long lived idiots and His

appearence before Aryamba at the time of his birth in the form of the Great God Siva Himself, with four hands, three eyes and a head wearing the crescent of the Moon as the diadem of His Crown are all later additions, of which incidents there is absolutely no reference in the great work of Chitsukhacharya. The particulars of the time of the birth of Sankara which are given in such details in the Brihat Sankara Vijaya enabling any intelligent man to sketch out a complete horoscope of his life are cleverly omitted or altered to suit the theory and prestige of the Sringeri Mutt. Apart from such comparison and internal evidence, there are ample materials left in the book itself to prove that the publication of the book now going under the name of Sankara Vijaya Vilasa, printed in Grantha character in 1876, had been brought out in existence by some of the advocates and heads of the Sringeri Mutt, during the controversy that arose between the Kumbhakonam and Sringeri Mutts, in the beginning of the second half of the last century.

We shall quote only one instance in support of our conclusion. At the close of this Sankara Vijaya Vilasa of the so-called Chidvilasa, as now published by Vavilla Ramaswamy Sastri, there is given an extract from the 9th Amsa of Siva-Rahasya, supposed to contain a true reproduction of the whole of the 16th Adhyaya of the said Amsa. We had our own doubts as to the genuineness of certain passages in it for a long time; and thanks to Mr. K. Sadasiva Chettiar, B.A., Proprietor of the Siva-Rahasyam Press, we have been now placed in possession of three ancient manuscript copies of the whole of Siva-Rahasyam, two in old Nagari character and one in Grantha character, and on perusing the same and carefully comparing them with the extract given in the printed book,

we found out the entire disappearance of all our doubts in the matter of two very important discrepencies in the printed edition—both of which clearly and unmistakably strength our theory. One is an exmple of addition, the other is an instance of omission or mutilation. After the 41st stanza of the 16th Adhyaya of the 9th Amsa of Siva-Rahasya* ending with:

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* The Siva-Rahasya or 'the secret doctrine of Siva' is a monument of Saiva-Siddhanta or the Spiritual Philosophy as advocated by the Saiva-Visishtadvaitins. The abstruse problems of Brahma-vidya or the science of spirituality as depicted in the Upanishads are handled here in a plain and direct manner and it ministers to the spiritual needs of every man with a realistic, and hence truly sympathetic and fruitful insight. The reality of the spirit (Siva), the nature of Brahman, (Pati), Essential as well as Relative, the nature of the Individual soul or Jiva, (Pasu), the nature of attaining Spiritual enlightenment or Jnana, through Karma and Bhakti treated in this great work, stirringly appeal to the spiritual needs of the average seeker after God. Whereas the Upanishads lay stress upon the Essential nature of Brahman as being only negatively knowable,—even the so-called positive attribute Sat (Being) Chit (Consciousness) Ānanda (Bliss) being only the denial of empirical being, empirical thought and empirical pleasure—the Siva-Rahasya, on the other hand, emphasises the Relative phenomenal aspects of the Supreme Being, as embodied in phenomena (Visvarupa), as being the One Controller of numerous Individual souls, as being Immanent in all persons and in all directions, as the Creator, and Destroyer, as Providence and Preserver, and as the Benevolent Ruler (Isvara). It is a Gospel of Grace and a monument of Theism, and accord-

भिन्नैर्वैदिकसंसिद्धे अद्वैते द्वैतवाक्यतः ।
तद्भेदगिरि वज्रस्त्वं सञ्जातोऽसि मदंशतः ।। ४१ ।।

and before the 42nd stanza beginning with :

द्वात्रिंशत् परमायुस्ते शीघ्रं कैलासमावस ।
एतत् प्रतिगृहाण त्वं पञ्चलिङ्गं सुपूजय ।। ४२ ।।

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ing to it, one sees the Supreme Spirit by the Grace of Isvara, to obtain which Divine Grace, one should be equipped with a high type of morality, self-control, righteousness and a peaceful mind.

The Siva-Rahasya consists of 12 parts or Amsas cotaining in all over 100,000 slokas, in 1000 Chapters or Adhyayas. This stupendous work is written in a metrical style, which is at once simple, eloquent and beautiful and forcibly appealing to every true devotee of God. According to many manuscripts, it is described as Mahetihasa (महेतिहास), on a *par* with Mahabharata, though a few of the manuscripts describe it as a portion of the Himavat-Kanda of the Skanda-Maha-Purana. The whole work is being published in parts neatly printed and bound, in bold Devanagari type in royal octavo size, on superior paper by Mr. K. Sadasiva Chettiar, B.A., the Proprietor of the Siva-Rahasyam Press and the Publisher deserves every support from the philanthropic public.

N.B.—The 9th Amsa of Siva-Rahasya mainly deals with the lives of the Bhaktas, and the first amongst such Bhaktas that would be born in the Kali-Yuga is Sri Sankara Bhagavatpada himself. He is said to have been born after the elapse of the 2nd Millennium of the Kali-Yuga, and the

as found in all these original manuscripts, the following five lines alluding to the conquest of Sarasvati, wife of Mandana Misra, by Sankara and his establishing her in the Sringeri Mutt :—

"दुर्वासः शापतो भूमौ जातां वाणीं विजित्य ताम् ।
अगत्स्य चरिते देशे तुङ्गातीरे सुनिर्मले ॥
पुण्यक्षेत्रे द्विजवरं स्थापयित्वा सुपूजय ।
यत्राऽस्ते ऋष्यशृङ्गस्य महर्षे राश्रमो महान् ॥
कला वपि ततोऽद्वैतमार्गः ख्यातो भविष्यति ॥"

which passage is a clear innovation, fabrication, and spurious addition to the original Siva-Rahasya, manifestly introduced into that ancient work by the advocates of the Sringeri-Mutt; for none of these original manuscripts including the version of the said Adhyaya as appended to the Telugu edition of Gururatnamalika has any such passage.

Again the very last stanza of the 16th Adhyaya of the 9th Amsa of Siva Rahasya as given in the printed edition of Sankara Vijaya Vilasa, betrays the forged nature of the said publication. It is a case of mutilation and alteration. The stanza, as it is in the printed Grantha edition, on the very last page of the book runs as follows :—

तद्योगभोगवरमुक्ति सुमोक्षयोग-
लिङ्गार्चनाप्राप्तजयः सकामम् ।

---

next Bhakta that is described in the work is Haradatta, who is said to have been born after the elapse of the 3rd millennium of the Kali-Yuga. Then is given a short account of the 63 Saiva Bhaktas known as Aruvattumoovar in the Tamil language. This also furnishes a clue to the true age of Sankara, as having flourished long before any of these Bhaktas.

तान् वै विजित्य तरसा क्षत्रशास्त्रजालैः
मिश्रान् ततो लोकमवाप शैवम् ॥

Two of the original manuscripts of the complete copy of Siva Rahasya in question as well as the extract of this Adhyaya as given in the Telugu edition of Gururatnamalika, published in Saka 1819 in Kalaratnakaram Press, Madras, read the stanza as follows:

तद्योम भोग वरमुक्ति सुमोक्षयोग-
लिङ्गार्चनात् प्राप्तजयः स्वकाश्रमे ।
तान वै विजित्य तरसा क्षत्रशास्त्रवादै
मिश्रान् स काञ्च्या मथ सिद्धिमाप ॥ ४६ ॥

A mere reading of these two versions is sufficient to show how the verse in the original Siva Rahasya had been mercilessly mutilated by the publisher of the said book, Sankara Vijaya Vijaya Vilasa, to avoid mentioning the fact that Sankara attained his siddhi at Kanchi, a theory which was not liked by the Sringeri Mutt. The other original manuscript of the complete copy of the Siva-Rahasya above referred to differs from either of them and reads the stanza as follows:—

तद्योग-भोग-वर-सिद्धि-विमुक्तयोग-
लिङ्गार्चनाधिगत दिग्विजय प्रकामम्
सर्वज्ञपीठमधिरुह्य विजित्य मिश्रान्
काञ्च्यां शिवे! तव पुरः सच सिद्धि माप ॥ ४७ ॥

This reading is faultless, and is practically same in substance with that contained in the other two original manuscripts and in the Telugu edition: for the 2nd and the 4th Padas in the above two versions have no correspondence with the 1st and the 3rd Padas of the said stanza, in as much as the latter contain 14 syllables in each Pada, whereas

the former contain only 11 syllables in each. Further, the stanza as found in the first two versions cannot be brought under any recognised metre. To avoid the anomaly, we are of opinion that the 3rd version is the correct one. Further this reading seems to be supported by Atmabodhendra in his commentary on Gururatnamalika (vide his commentary on stranza 24).

We shall conclude this subject with the following sketch of Sankara's horoscope, which we have drawn in accordance with the particulars of the time of birth of Sankara as given by Chitsukhacharya in his Brihat Sankara Vijaya :—

<table>
<tr><td>मीने
शुक्रः</td><td>मेषे
सूर्यः बुधश्च</td><td>वृषभे</td><td>मिथुने
चन्द्रः</td></tr>
<tr><td>कुम्भे</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">श्रीयुधिष्ठिर शके २६३१, कल्यब्दे २५९३, क्रीष्टु शकात्पूर्वं ५०९ नन्दनवर्षे, उत्तरायणे, मेषराशौ, वैशाखमासे, शुक्लपक्षे, पञ्चमी तिथौ, भानुवासरे, पुनर्वसु नक्षत्रे, कर्कट लग्ने, आभिजिन्मूहूर्ते, श्रीशङ्करभगवत्पाद जनन समयः</td><td>कर्कटे
गुरुः
जन्मलग्नम्</td></tr>
<tr><td>मकरे
कुजः</td><td>सिंहे</td></tr>
<tr><td>धनुषि</td><td>वृश्चिके</td><td>तुलायां
शनिः</td><td>कन्यायां</td></tr>
</table>

॥ शुभं भूयात् ॥

